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CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA

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CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA

ITS PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

This book has been prepared in the first place for the use of the personnel of the Indian Army Educational Corps attached to units and formations, as a basis on which to organise the teaching of Citizenship, which has now for the first time been included among the subjects of education in the Indian Army. It is hoped that it may also be of assistance to British Officers of units, and to those Indian officers and N.C.Os acquainted with English who may be called upon to assist the I.A.E.C. personnel in the work of education. The book has been, for convenience' sake, divided into four parts.

Part I gives the elementary facts concerning those local officials and institutions with which every villager is, or should be, familiar. The illustrations in this Part have been taken in the main from the Punjab, but instructors will be able readily to adapt their lessons to the province and district from which their company or squadron is drawn. This Part is well within the comprehension of the newest recruit and it is suggested that it might well be taught in Training Units as an introduction to the subject.

Part II describes the way in which a Province is governed, which includes of course an account of the Montague-Chelmsford Reform scheme, and the way it works. To familiarize with the idea of Representative Government men entirely unaccustomed to such conceptions will be found a long and difficult task ; but, if possible, every man who is promoted to the rank of Havildar should have received instruction in this Part.

Part III gives an account of the Viceroy and his Government, and of the Central Legislative bodies established as a result of the recent reforms. To any man who has mastered *Part II* this will not present many new difficulties. Candidates for promotion to the rank of Jemadar should be familiar with this *Part*, and capable of giving instruction in the previous *Parts*.

Part IV is supplementary, and contains chapters on the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, the various activities of Government in this country, and the British Empire. Candidates for King's Commissioned rank should make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the information contained in this *Part* with a view to the First Class (*Part II*) examination. But it is also hoped that this *Part* will provide in a short and simplified form much information that British and Indian officers might like to have at hand, and which might provide material for lectures and talks to the men of their units.

As regards the methods best adapted for teaching Citizenship, the following points, the result of experience at the Indian Army School of Education, are perhaps worth noticing.

- (a) It is not intended that, except to King's Commissioned rank, Citizenship shall form part of any examination for promotion. It should therefore, least of all subjects, be taught in a "formal" manner, especially in the early stages. The lessons based on *Part I* should consist not so much of imparting new information to a class—the men should know most of it themselves—as of questioning it so as to bring to light its own knowledge; the function of the instructor will be mainly that of tabulating and arranging the facts thus ascertained.

The more advanced Parts, where the subject is all new, may have to be taught rather differently, but even then, every item of information which the men may be expected to know should be extracted from them, to give them practice in the invaluable art of thinking for themselves.

- (b) Periods of instruction can be made very much more interesting, and difficult points clearer and easier to remember, by the use of practical illustrations. To show what an election is, a mimic election can be held ; meetings of mimic Legislative Councils can be used to show how these bodies carry on their work ; visits should be arranged, where circumstances permit, to actual District Boards, or other local bodies ; and in every way possible, concrete methods of explanation should be used. Experience has shown that the use of such methods appreciably lightens the task of the instructor, and drives boredom effectually from the class.
- (c) Analogies from military life, as illustrated throughout this book, should be a feature of every Citizenship lesson. Soldiers will be brought more easily to comprehend much that is new and unfamiliar, if it comes to them in a military setting. For instance, a man will more easily understand what is meant by a Commissioner, if he is explained as "one of the Governor's Company Commanders." The essential and obvious parallel between military duty and civic obligation should at the same time be continually brought out.
- (d) Lastly, every effort should be made to impress on all instructors and classes the very practical

and important nature of the subject. The soldier must be brought to a realization of the fact that with the first instalment of Representative Government given by the recent reforms, he is made responsible, to some extent, for the way Government is carried on and laws made. He cannot always get leave to vote himself, but he may be of influence in swaying the votes of his family and friends. It is by no means an easy task to arouse interest in this subject in men whose idea of Government for thousands of years has been that at its best it is a benevolent despotism, and at its worst a grinding tyranny. But it will be found that, though interest may be difficult to arouse, once aroused it will be a very deep interest indeed, and will fully repay all the time and trouble taken to stimulate it.

Belgaum,
December 12, 1922

P. S. C.

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CHAPTER I

THE SIMPLEST GROUPS

In this world every man may be said to live two lives. The first of these we may call his separate or individual life, the second his life as it affects the lives of other men and is affected by them; this latter constitutes what is called communal life. Now with the first of these no person but the man himself is concerned. We cannot read other peoples' thoughts, or know any more about their hopes and desires than they may wish to tell us; a man must work out his individual life for himself.

But as we look round and consider how we and others live, we see at once that the part of our lives which may be considered as wholly individual is very small, and that from day to day we are most strongly affected by the lives and the actions of people around us. How many of those who read this book will have lived, for even the shortest period, a solitary life in the jungle, apart from all their fellow-men, and unaffected by what others say or do?

From the above remarks we may now be able to get an idea of what citizenship means, and to consider that part of our lives which is specially concerned with our relations to other people—the privileges we obtain and the duties we owe as a result of these relations.

Now from the very earliest times the human race has understood that for a man to live by himself entails

great hardship. Men came to realise from the very first that to get any comfort at all out of life they must come together and form groups in order to give to each other the benefit of mutual protection and mutual help, without which the struggle for existence becomes so hard.

The first of these groups men found already provided for them by nature. Every person who comes into this world enters at once into the Family Group, consisting at least of his father and mother. This simplest of all relationships has been extended to include all near relations. It is hard for us to realise what life would be without this family relationship; indeed it is doubtful if we could exist for very long without it; for not only did our family, our father and mother, bring us into the world, but we know that if it had not been for the care which they or other relations gave us in our childhood, we could not have grown up to be men at all. And so we come to the simplest example of the quality we call "good Citizenship", namely, to understand the privileges and duties of our family life. We begin to realise that our family, when we were young, gave us the food, clothes and protection that we were too weak to obtain for ourselves, and that in return we owe to our fathers and mothers when they are old the same protection and support that they gave us when we were young, and to our family in general all the support and assistance in our power. Although the Family is so small a group, and our duties to it seem so simple and obvious, yet as we go on, we shall find that if we carry out our duties to the larger groups in which we live in the same spirit in which we carry out our family duties, we shall have fulfilled most of the duties of a good citizen.

The family as we have seen, is the earliest Group to which we belong, and therefore
 (2) *The Village* is in many ways the most important to us; yet it is not often that men are content to live in no other community. Very few persons, if the question were put to them, would answer that they would deliberately choose to live with their family apart from their fellow-men on a lonely hill-side; they would nearly all prefer to build a house where there are other houses near, containing other men and their families. Men realise in the first place that an isolated family living apart from the others is far less able to protect itself from the attacks of men and animals than a whole group of families, who can organise their defence; that, if men are grouped together, instead of each family having to sink its own well, one well can serve several; that in a community of this kind certain necessary work, such as the provision of food and clothes, can be done by one common shopkeeper instead of each family having to be its own provider. Lastly, and perhaps most important, man has a natural desire for companionship, and when his family is affected by any great occasion, whether joyful or sorrowful, he likes to have around him other men whom he can invite to share the joys and sorrows of his family. Thus we see that the village (and the town of course as well) did not grow up by accident but is an invention of man to satisfy his own real needs—Protection, Convenience of life and Companionship.

But just as in our family, the advantages and
Privileges and Duties privileges we obtain from it are balanced by corresponding duties, so, as villagers, Citizenship teaches us that we have no right to live in any village, and

merely to get what advantages we can from living there, without doing anything in return. There are several quite definite duties for a villager; he knows that there is a certain official, the Lambardar,* with his subordinate the Chowkidar,* who has been put in a position of authority over the village; and that if the Lambardar is not supported and obeyed by all the men of the village but is obstructed and opposed in doing his work, then the life of the village will not run as smoothly as it will if all the villagers realise that it is their duty to obey and support him. A villager should do his best to aid in the detection of crime, and keep bad characters out of the village; he should keep his house clean and be particular about sanitary matters; he should lend a helping hand to any one in the village who is suffering from misfortune; in a word he should act not for himself alone, but for the general good of all.

Many of those who will read this book left their villages some time ago, and only
 (3) *The regiment* visit them when they go on furlough; they may be apt to think that all that has been said above does not apply to them, or at any rate will not apply until the day, perhaps long-distant, when they leave the Service. For them, too, Citizenship has a message, because they are living in a community which insists more on Duty, and gives greater privileges in return, than any other in the world.

For the regiment, far more than the village, is a man's "father and mother." From
Privileges and Duties it a soldier gets, without any expense to himself, most of the

* See Diagram 1 for the titles of these officials in provinces other than the Punjab.

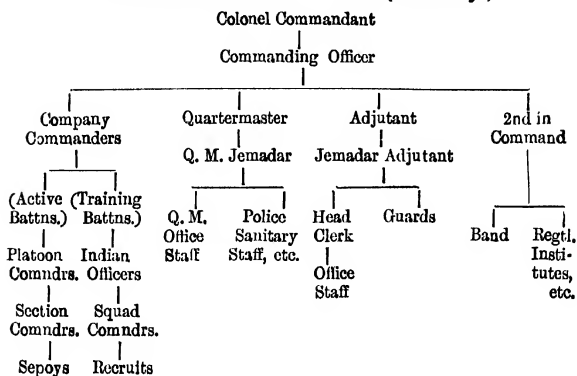
things for which, in civil life, he would have to pay out hard-earned rupees. The army gives him quarters to live in, clothes to cover him, food to eat, medical attention if he is ill; besides which it gives him pay, it sends him home on furlough with a free railway warrant, and it offers him, by means of the regimental institutes and games, plenty of interesting occupation for his leisure time.

In return for all these benefits, the Army and the regiment insist that the soldier shall acknowledge and fulfil duties far greater than those of a villager. A soldier must obey his superiors without hesitation; he must observe such standing orders and daily orders as are issued for the benefit and health of all; he must make real efforts to become efficient in all his military work; he must take a keen interest in all the activities of the regiment "off parade"; and lastly, he must, especially in a regiment composed of different classes, be most careful not to offend other men's religious feelings, realising that all belong to the regiment, and that disputes and quarrelling will injure the good name of the regiment, which it is his duty to preserve by every means in his power.

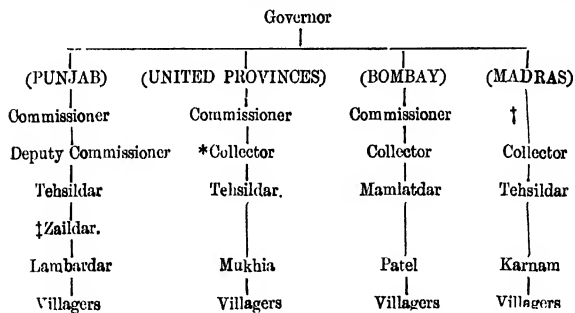
We have thus seen that whether we are serving as soldiers, or living, as we all must do when we retire, as civilians in a village, or town, we must realise that living in groups or communities gives us very great advantages and privileges, in return for which we are bound to do our best for the community in which we reside. If we grasp this idea, and what is more important, carry it into practice in our daily life, we shall have gone a long way to grasping the first and main principle of Citizenship.

Diagram 1

THE REGIMENTAL CHAIN (Infantry)

*Diagram 2*

THE EXECUTIVE CHAIN OF A PROVINCE (Simplified)



*In Agra. In Oudh he is called Deputy Commissioner.

†There have never been Commissioners in Madras.

‡Exists in the Punjab only. There is no corresponding official in other provinces.

Note.—The Chowkidar is called Mahar or Taral in Bombay, and Talari in Madras.

CHAPTER II

CHAINS OF RESPONSIBILITY

Every soldier knows, or should know, something about the idea of Responsibility.

(1) ***The Regimental Chain*** When as a recruit in a Training Battalion, he is doing a parade, he realises that his Squad Commander is not free to arrange the times and places and subjects of instruction at his own will: that he takes his instructions from one of the Indian Officers, who himself gets them from the Company Commander. He knows also that the Company Commander has to lay his programme of work before the Commanding Officer, and comply with all his orders regarding the training of his Company.

Similarly, when a man is fully trained, and posted to an Active Battalion, he will find the same principle in force. A Section Commander cannot give orders for a ten-mile route march, nor on the other hand does the C. O. issue orders to individual sepoys. Orders come down in a regular "Chain" through a recognised series of people and it is to be noticed that as we go down the "Chain", each man has less responsibility, but is expected to be more detailed in his orders than the one above him. The C. O. orders, for instance, that the Battalion will provide a fatigue party of 1 Lance-Naik and 3 men every Monday. The man who actually details the party is the Commander of the 12th section of No. 4 company, though he has not power to order the fatigue to be carried out, unless he gets orders from above. The same principles apply equally to all parts of regimental life. (See Diagram I.)

4, 44 2.

Now the organisation of Civil Life is very similar to what is familiar to us in a regiment. The most ignorant man can hardly fail to realise that the Headman of his Village is not a man possessing absolute power, but is himself under the control of a "Man Above" whose orders he is bound to obey. Similarly, those who are a little better informed will know that the man above is called a Zaildar,* and has authority over a Zail* or group of villages. The Zaildar himself is under the control of a higher official, who holds authority over a Tehsil† or group of Zails, and is known as the Tehsildar.† Rising higher in the scale we find the Deputy-Commissioner†, who rules over a collection of Tehsils which is called a District. Over and above him are higher, and to the ordinary man rather shadowy officials, Commissioners, ruling over many Deputy Commissioners, while high above them all stands the Governor, far away at Lahore, Lucknow, Bombay or Madras.

What must clearly be realised is that the idea of the chain we have just been describing is exactly the same as that of the chain which works down from the C. O. and Adjutant through Company and Platoon Commanders to Section Commanders and Sepoys. Suppose that an order is sent down from the Government at Lahore saying that such and such regiments are marching through such and such districts, giving the dates when they will pass through, and ordering arrangements to be made for them. It is obvious that the authorities

* These are only found in the Punjab.

† For the alternative titles given to these divisions and the officials who rule over them in provinces other than the Punjab, *vide* Diagram 2.

higher up, though responsible that the work is done, cannot be expected to make all the arrangements in detail; they will do it through their Company, Platoon and Section Commanders, *i.e.* the Tehsildars, Zaildars, and Lambardars. These latter will make the detailed arrangements for the troops as they pass through. The Tehsildar will be told that such and such a Brigade will be in his Tehsil on such and such a date. He will then tell the Zaildar in whose zail the camp will be, and he will call up his Lambardars. It is these latter, the men at the bottom of the chain, who, though having the least responsibility, will do the actual work of looking after the troops.

The other chain with which we shall now deal is doubtless familiar, sometimes too familiar, to most of us. This is the **(3) The Judicial Chain** Judicial chain, or chain of men who deal with law-courts and the carrying out of justice. Suppose that one man borrows a sum of money from another, and when requested at the proper time to return the money with the agreed interest, refuses to do so. The lender will go to the Munsiff,* and demand justice. If he fails to get the decision he desires, he can carry the case to the Sub-Judge, and from him again to the District Judge. If he (or his opponent) is still dissatisfied, the case will finally come before the High Court of the province, from which (except to England) there is no appeal. Similarly, if a case arises regarding land, this goes to the Executive Chain for decision. The reason for this is that on land depends Land Revenue,

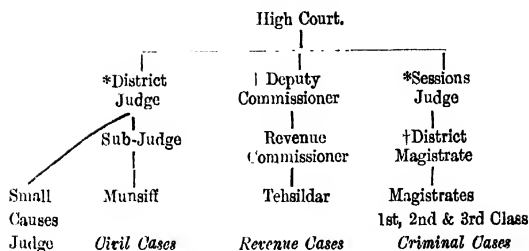
*In certain localities Small Causes Judges are appointed who try cases involving small sums of money. The appeal from them is to the District Judge.

and so it is the Executive Government who are most concerned in these disputes. In the Punjab (the procedure is slightly different in other provinces) these cases come before the Tehsildar, from whose decision there is an appeal to the Extra Assistant Commissioner for Revenue, and from him to the Deputy Commissioner. The High Court, however, is still the final court of appeal in these cases. The third form of case is that in which there is no quarrel between private persons involved, but between the Government and those who break the laws; these cases are tried by Magistrates, 1st, 2nd and 3rd Class; above them is the District Magistrate who is practically always the same as the Deputy Commissioner. More important cases, and appeals from Magistrates, are heard by the Sessions Judge of the District, with the High Court again possessing the final power of decision.

These three types of cases are known, in the order in which they have been described, as Civil, Revenue and Criminal. This distinction is very important, and should be carefully remembered. We should notice how the Chain of Responsibility binds the officers of law just as much as the Executive officers. Every Judge has a superior judge above him, with a right to try the most important cases and to hear appeals from his decisions.

Diagram 3

THE JUDICIAL CHAIN



* These functions are usually performed by one officer, known as the Judge and Sessions Judge, with a junior judge as assistant.

† These duties are carried out by the same officer.

Note.—The above system applies to the Punjab. There are slight differences in other provinces.

CHAPTER III

THE DUTIES OF VARIOUS OFFICIALS

We shall now go on to consider the functions of various officials—that is to say the work carried out, or which ought to be carried out, by the men who govern and look after us. With the Judicial chain we shall deal no further; its purpose is in every case to hear evidence, and to decide, in a criminal case, if the accused man did or did not commit the offence of which he is accused, and to punish him or let him go; in a civil or revenue case, to decide which of two men is in the right or how much money is owing. Their duties, though difficult to carry out, and most important to us, are simple to understand; so this chapter will be devoted to considering what is the work performed by the first, or executive chain.

To a villager, the most important of these officials, because he is the one whom he sees the most, is the Lambardar, or head-man of the village. His duties will be more than familiar to most of us.

Duties of
(1) *Lambardar*

He is, so to speak, the Platoon Commander of his village, as he is responsible for everything that goes on there, and all orders from above pass through him. He collects the land revenue (5% of which he is allowed to keep for himself as payment for the duties he performs) and is responsible that it is sent at the proper times to the treasury of the Tehsil. He must maintain good order within his village, turning out of it bad characters, and reporting to the Police the occurrence of all crimes and disputes. He is responsible for the health and sanitation of his village, for and the

notification of any disease which may break out within it; he is bound to give all necessary assistance to the touring officers of Government and to act in every way as the "channel" of orders from above. Lastly, he has to notify the occurrence of births and deaths within his area, and what interests us most perhaps, the statements made by recruits on joining are sent to him for verification.

If the Lambardar had to perform all these duties quite unaided, he might perhaps be
and Chowkidar considered rather a hard worked man.

But, as we all know, he has to assist him a Chowkidar. Chowkidars are appointed, roughly speaking on a basis of one to every 500 inhabitants, and are usually paid about Rs. 8 a month. Their principal duty is to perform the functions of the regimental quarter-guard, that is to say, the Chowkidar is responsible for the safety of the village when the villagers are asleep. His other duties consist in the main of acting as a sort of "orderly" to the Lambardar; for instance, if the Lambardar requires the attendance of any man in the village to be interviewed by any officer on tour, the Chowkidar will go to his house to summon him; or again, if any crime has been committed in the village, or police assistance is required for any other purpose, it is the Chowkidar who will be sent to the Thana to report.

Next in order in the "chain" we come to the
 Zaildar, or headman of a group of
 (2) *Zaildar* villages, generally numbering from
 10 to 15, which is known as a Zail.
 The Zaildar, first of all, acts as a channel of communication; just as part of the duty of a Company Commander

is to pass on to his Platoon Commanders the orders of the Commanding Officer, only adding such instructions of his own as may be necessary for carrying them out efficiently, so the Zaildar is responsible that all orders from above are communicated to all Lambardars, and properly carried out by them. These orders may be on every variety of subject. A Lambardar may be consistently late in collecting his land revenue; he may consistently fail to report crimes, or epidemic diseases, and his village may be famous as a resort of bad characters; for all these failures the Zaildar will be held responsible. Among other duties that may be noticed, he has certain responsibilities regarding roads and primary education, famine relief works, when necessary, and army recruiting; he accompanies the officers of Government on tour round his Zail and makes general arrangements for their comfort; and he is responsible for making out the list of persons in his Zail from whom Income Tax should be collected.

We now come to an official of great importance—the Tehsildar. Just as a Zail is a group of villages, so a Tehsil is a group of Zails; and just as the Zaildar is as we have seen the channel by which orders are conveyed from above to the villages, and just as the Zaildar is held responsible for seeing that the Lambardars under him do their allotted work, so in exactly the same way the Tehsildar will be held responsible for all the work that we have given as the duties of a Zaildar, and must see that all his Zaildars carry out their duties properly. But beyond this, the Tehsildar has certain other special duties. He takes into his treasury the land revenue as it is

despatched to him by the village Lambardars, and sends it on to the District treasury; while he has to report on the crops, and send his report to the Deputy Commissioner as a basis on which land revenue can be assessed, increased or remitted. His further duties regarding land are that he decides, often on the spot, disputes regarding the ownership of land, and certifies land transfers. Lastly, the Tehsildar is as a rule a Third Class Magistrate, and as such can award fines up to Rs. 50 and imprisonment up to 3 months; while, if he is promoted to the 2nd Class, he can fine up to Rs. 100, and imprison for as long as 6 months.

The ordinary man will probably ask himself at this point "Now what is the use of all these people whose work has just been described? Could we not get on much better without them?" Such a man should think once again of the organisation of his own regiment. He may dislike his Section Commander and his Platoon Commander, and feel that they are a lot of useless people who seem to do nothing but worry him; but he must always bear in mind that the C. O. though he has to have the care of 800 men the object of his constant thoughts, cannot himself personally supervise every detail; the work would be impossibly great. So in the same way, we must realise the second great lesson which Citizenship teaches us—that unless our lives are to be utterly disorganised, and we are to go back and be barbarous and savage men, we must have organisation, and this organization must be worked on a "chain" from above to below. There may be many bad Lambardars, Zaildars and Tehsildars in India; but we are not for that reason justified in saying they are all useless. If a machine does not work as it should, it must be repaired,

not destroyed. And so, as we proceed with the organization of our life in India, and learn how it works, we must remember all the time these main lessons—that the possession of advantages and privileges involves us in the duty of doing our best for the communities from which we get these advantages; that organised life is necessary for our prosperity and happiness, that the organization, though it can often be improved, cannot, without great danger, be abolished; and that there is a proper and an improper way of improving anything.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER (COLLECTOR)

The official who comes next above the Tehsildar in our chain is a person of such great importance that he must have a chapter entirely devoted to him. In the first place, as regards his title. In certain provinces of India, Bombay and Madras for instance, he is always known as the Collector (why, we shall see later on); in other provinces, *e. g.* in the Punjab, he is always known as the Deputy Commissioner; when he is performing certain parts of his duties, he is also often referred to as the District Magistrate, while in common speech he is often again known as the District Officer. So in the first instance, it is necessary to remember, whenever any of the above titles are used, that they all refer to one and the same man.

The second curious fact which it is necessary to get quite clear about the Deputy Commissioner is that he is so to speak several men in one—in other words that the various parts of his work seem to be, and very probably are, more or less distinct; and the best way to deal with them is to consider these parts, which are three in number, separately, (see diagram 4).

The greater part of India by far, as everyone knows, consists of country, as opposed to town. Therefore the main concern of nearly every Deputy Commissioner will be the land, and so we find that the first and most important of his duties is, with the assistance of the

**(1) As Revenue
Officer**

lower officials, to assess the land revenue, that is to decide how much each section of land is worth and ought to pay, and then to see that the revenue is collected. It is this duty which has given to the Deputy Commissioner in some provinces the title of Collector, *i.e.* the man who "collects" the land revenue. This duty involves almost naturally two others. First of all the Deputy Commissioner, as we saw in our "judicial" chain, hears appeals made on the subject of land from the judgments delivered by Tehsildars; in the second place, he is in charge of the District Treasury, which is fixed at his headquarters.

But although the Deputy Commissioner, especially in those districts where he still has the title of Collector, was at first little more than a revenue officer, he is now much more. He takes his place in the "Executive" chain as the man who, in any District in India, is the local representative of the Government. All orders sent down from above are sent through him, and he is in charge of all Tehsildars in his district and responsible for the work they do. Nothing can be done in his district without his advice and consent being obtained, and all officers, such as the Executive Engineer, and the Civil Surgeon, who are working in his area, must pay attention to his wishes, even though he is not an expert on the subjects with which they deal, because the work they do affects the District, for which he is finally responsible. Over subjects which do not come into the ordinary everyday routine, he is alone supreme; for instance if a famine or other emergency happens in his district, he and no one else is responsible for the measures taken to deal with it. Finally the Deputy Commissioner is often

President of the District Board, a body of men about whom we shall hear more later.

The last and by no means least important side of the Deputy Commissioner's work
(3) *As District Magistrate* is that which he performs under the title of District Magistrate.

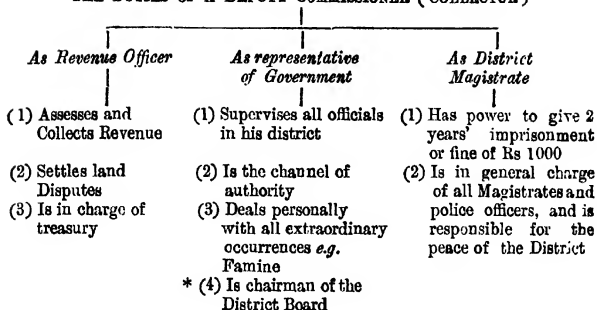
He possesses the power to award, if he tries a case himself, imprisonment for 2 years, or a fine of anything up to Rs. 1,000; as a matter of fact, he does not very often sit as a Magistrate, but he is officially Senior Magistrate of the District, and more or less supervises the work of the other Magistrates. But, besides this, he has, as District Magistrate, a general responsibility for the preservation of peace and the detection and prevention of crime within his district. If any seditious meetings are being held, or any actions being performed which in his opinion are likely to lead to disturbances in the district, he can proclaim the fact publicly, and order the community in general, or certain persons in particular, to abstain from such acts or run the risk of punishment. In this connection he has certain authority over the District Superintendent of Police, who cannot take any important action without consulting him.

We thus see that the Deputy Commissioner is a most influential person, and it is of the greatest importance to us that he should be a good and reliable man. But it should never be forgotten that a man's work is often made or spoiled by the attitude of others to it. It is quite useless to abuse the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants and obstruct them by every means in our power, and then turn round and complain that they are not efficient. If we realise fully how varied

and difficult his work is, we shall surely realise also that it is our duty to support him to the best of our power; if we do so we can be sure we shall benefit ourselves again, because our encouragement and support will make his work even better. The men who abuse the Deputy Commissioner are usually those who know nothing about his work, and would be totally incapable of doing it themselves. Their foolish abuse does no good to themselves or the District, and only discourages the Deputy Commissioner and those who are trying, for the good of their District, to support him and help his work.

Diagram 4

THE DUTIES OF A DEPUTY COMMISSIONER (COLLECTOR)



*This function is gradually disappearing. See Chapter VI, page 45.

CHAPTER V

THE IDEA OF ELECTION ; THE SMALLER ELECTED BODIES

In a regiment, when orders have to be issued for a parade they come, as all know, from the Commanding Officer. He may, and probably has, himself received orders from the Brigade on the subject, but so far as we are concerned, all orders come from him, and our duty is not to discuss or argue about them, but to carry them out. Suppose, on the other hand, that there is a question of whether the regimental contractor has been overcharging the men in the coffee shop and complaints are coming in that his prices are too high, we know that the C. O. will not decide that matter himself, but will leave it to be considered by the Bazaar Committee.

Now to understand what follows, it is most necessary thoroughly to grasp the distinction between the way the C. O. and the Bazaar Committee are chosen. *Regimental Committees* The C. O. and in fact all the officers are appointed; they receive their commissions from the King-Emperor or Viceroy, and command, whether of a Platoon or a Regiment, depends on Rank, which itself is gained by seniority and efficiency. Now turn to the Bazaar Committee. This is chosen on quite a different principle, that of choosing from below, or as it is always known, by Election. Men are selected, from companies, or classes, to represent the men of those companies or classes; these men come together under a president appointed by the C. O. to consider certain matters, and,

as each member has been selected from a certain portion of the regiment, the opinions the members give are taken to represent those of the men of the regiment as a whole. The same principle applies to every regimental committee; a Sports Committee represents Companies, headquarters etc., the Committee of the Officers' Mess represents the officers as a whole and so on.

Now if this idea is borne in mind, and we go back to consider Civil Life, we find there also the same or a very similar idea in operation. The officials whose duties we have been considering are, like the officers, appointed from above; Tehsildars and Deputy Commissioners are people who rule over us, but their selection is none of our business; all our duty is to obey and assist them. But on the other hand there are bodies (and their number and duties are steadily increasing), who are appointed by us, and for whom we are in some way responsible; *i. e.*, if they do bad work, it is largely our fault, for it is we, the inhabitants of such and such a village or district, who chose them.

***Local elected
bodies***

The first of these bodies, which, though not yet revived in many parts of India, will soon, in all probability, be the most important of them, is the Panchayat, or council of a village or group of villages. To understand what this means, those of you who are from the North must imagine yourselves to be in the South, in Madras, where the system is fully working. There, in each large village, or group of villages, the residents elect a small council, which has certain powers; for instance, it can levy a small tax on houses, which is used for the improvement of sanitation, and in other matters it advises

the headman of the village and represents the villagers in general.

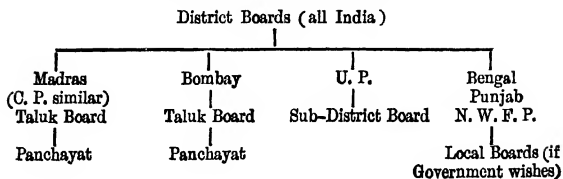
The system, or something like it will soon be working in North India as well. An act has lately been passed* by which Panchayats will be set up in all villages in the Punjab. These will have more power than those in Madras, for they will, in addition to looking after sanitation, be to a certain extent in charge of village education, and will also form a small lawcourt for settlement of very small cases, whether civil or criminal.

Next above the Panchayats we find the Local Boards; these again are not by any means found all over India. In Madras and Bombay, they seem to be found as a rule; in other provinces not always; their powers are not extensive, and they act mainly under the control of the Board above them. This latter, known as the District Board, is found universally all over British India. Its duties are growing in number and importance, so it will be treated by itself in a separate chapter.

* November 1921. A similar act was passed at the same time in Bombay.

Diagram 5

LOCAL ELECTED BODIES



CHAPTER VI

THE DISTRICT BOARD

It was mentioned at the end of the last Chapter that the District Boards, as opposed to
(1) *History* the other local elected bodies such as the Panchayats and Local Boards, are to be found all over India. The reason for this is that they are not an institution which has come down from the past like the Madras Panchayats, but are entirely a creation of the British. They were established, it may be interesting to notice, along with most of the municipalities in the big towns, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon in 1883, and were set up with the deliberate idea that through them the inhabitants of each district might be induced to take an interest in the management of their own local affairs.

Until recently the composition of these boards varied from province to province.
(2) *Composition* Whilst in Bombay, Madras and Bengal, half the members were chosen by the people in general, and half appointed by the Collector, in the United Provinces and the Punjab three quarters were elected and one quarter nominated. As a result, however, of a recommendation sent round by the Government of India, the general principle that three quarters of the members should be chosen by the people has been adopted by all provinces, and in most of them steps are being taken to make this change where required. It is also now agreed that wherever possible an elected member of the Board, and not the Deputy Commissioner or Collector, should be the president. The object of this change is that if the Deputy Commissioner or

Collector is president, he will suggest all that is to be done, and the members will never learn to think for themselves.

The duties which have up to now been assigned to the District Board are those which
(3) *Duties* though not involving such important consequences that if they are badly performed the peace of the District will be endangered or confusion ensue, are yet of great local interest. They have no control over the police, nor any power either to try cases themselves or to exercise any influence over Judges and Magistrates. This kind of power is kept exclusively in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner and other officers. But all the same, the functions of the District Board are far from unimportant.

The District Board gets money from three sources. It obtains a grant from the Government every year; it is allowed to levy a small land-tax, or "cess" as it is called, and it also gets money from pounds, ferries, and miscellaneous tolls. The money thus collected, it can spend in various ways. The construction of roads in the district is an affair upon which it can decide. It provides for the erecting and fitting up of hospitals and dispensaries, with the enforcement of sanitation, and with other health measures, such as the arrangements for the carrying out of vaccination. Water supply and drainage are subjects with which it deals. It has some measure of control over the way in which elementary education is carried on in the district; it controls the markets, pounds, fairs and ferries from which it gets a large proportion of its income; and finally, in time of famine, it has a certain amount of responsibility in carrying out measures of relief.

The above brief summary is enough to show what, in theory, should be the functions of the District Boards. But it must be realised that in very few cases have these boards justified the hopes with which they were started, forty years ago. In many districts for many years now little interest seems to have been taken in the elections, and when the members are elected, neither they nor the men who elect them seem to take much interest in what goes on in the Boards, with the result that the Deputy Commissioner and official members have had to do practically all the work. That this should be so much the case is bad Citizenship. If our Bazaar and Sports Committees are idle, and do as little as they can, and if the men of our regiment take no interest in what goes on in them, other units will soon guess that the state of the regiment is slack and unsatisfactory. So in the case of the District Boards. A man cannot run before he has learned to walk, and we do not promote a man from Naik to Subedar Major, or from Lieutenant to Colonel. You will find many people walking about India to-day saying that India should be able to govern herself; but we can be quite sure of this; that if our villagers cannot be troubled to take an interest in their local affairs, they will never be able to help in the management of big things. Our Government is now again trying to make us take more interest and share in our own local affairs; they are trying to get non-official men to be chairmen of the District Boards so that men will not always look so much to the Deputy Commissioner to do everything for them; they are starting Panchayats in the villages, so that we can call help in managing what most closely concerns us. Good Citizenship consists in taking these chances and using them; for us soldiers it also means

that when we go on furlough to our villages, we should explain to our friends what we have learned in our Regimental School about the way we are governed, the privileges we get and the duties we owe; and we should show them that a good citizen will not stand by and expect the Government to do everything for him, but will take his part, loyally and with interest, in everything which is done or can be done, for the benefit of his village and his district.

CHAPTER VII

CIVIC DUTIES ILLUSTRATED

In the preceding chapters we have obtained an idea of the duties of a good citizen in regard to the Government of his district—how it is his duty in the first place to be obedient and loyal to all those persons, from the Lambardar upwards, who are in authority over him; and in the second place to fulfil such parts of the business of government as are entrusted to himself, the choosing of men, for instance, to serve as members of Panchayats and District Boards, with care and interest.

But just as in our regiments, although we admit that actual obedience of orders, loyalty to our superiors in a general way, and the carrying out of any special duty such as service on a Bazaar or Sports Committee, are all of the greatest importance, yet we can see there are many practical ways of carrying the spirit of loyalty and interest into practice which are not at first sight obvious to every soldier; so in Civil Life, good Citizenship has many valuable and interesting practical applications.

In selecting a few of these, we may well take the subject of health, so vital to the happiness of men in civil and military life alike. This subject provides a great example of how, although those whose duty it is to govern us and organise our life may do everything that is in their power to do, the success of what they do depends entirely on the extent to which the ordinary citizen carries out their instructions and advice. In India, as

you all know only too well, there are four diseases which chiefly vex us ; plague, small-pox, cholera and fever or malaria. In dealing with each of these, good citizenship can play a great part. A good citizen will help to stamp out plague by killing every rat he can find and by assisting, and not obstructing, as so many do, the men sent round by Government for this work ; he will help the medical authorities to keep small-pox from the district by being vaccinated himself, and seeing that his family are vaccinated also. He will try to keep cholera from his house by the utmost care regarding water and the pollution of all form of food and drink by flies. He will keep fever in check by preventing mosquitoes breeding in stagnant pools, etc., and remembering that there is quinine if he needs it at the nearest post office. But more than this, a good citizen will not be content that only his family and dependents do these things ; he will go round among his fellow-villagers and other acquaintances, instruct those who are ignorant, and rouse up the lazy, not only to take precautions against definite diseases, but to try and get better sanitation, and a stricter observance of the simple laws of health. Government does its best for us by instructions and advice ; but all its work is useless without the active co-operation of every citizen.

In the Indian Army, there are many regiments, in fact the majority, which are
 (2) *Toleration* organised on the "class-Company" system ; there may be Sikh companies, companies of Punjabi Mussalmans, etc., all serving in the same regiment. Suppose that in such a regiment a Sikh company and a Mussalman company were always quarrelling ; that the Mussalmans, for instance, were in the habit of going into the Sikh quarters and smoking, and the Sikhs

retaliating by going to the Mussalman quarters and drinking strong drink, with the result that continuous fighting went on; we all know what the other regiments in the cantonment would say; that such and such a regiment had no regimental spirit, and was in a very bad state indeed.

Exactly the same considerations apply in Civil Life. India is full of different races with different religions, and these races do not in many cases live separate, but are together in the same district and the same villages and cities. We read in our history how many of these races have in times past been violently opposed to each other and have fought out their differences time and again. We read our newspapers, and we see* how easily the old quarrels break out again. The duty of a good citizen in India in this matter is clear. He must make it his business to remember that, just as companies of all classes go to make up a regiment, so all men who live in our country, of whatever classes, are his fellow citizens; that they have as much right to their customs and religious observances as he has; and he will realise, and try to persuade all members of his own race to realise, that unless every race in India practises this spirit of Toleration, or mutual recognising of each other's customs and ideas, every Panchayat and every District Board, instead of working together for the good of the village and district, will be engaged in bitter and useless quarrelling between classes and sects.

When a recruit joins a regiment, he soon realises that he has certain duties to perform, which he is forced to do; that is to say that it does not depend on

(3) **Voluntary work**

* The Moplah rising, the Multan Mohurram riot etc.

him whether he is to do them or not. He must go on parade, and do guards and fatigues, or take the punishment which follows upon absence from parade, or not obeying a lawful order. Similarly in Civil life, we can divide the things we do into two parts—what we do because we must earn a living for ourselves and our families, or because we are compelled to do it by the power of the law and police; and what we can do of our own will, and there is no real necessity for us to do. Just in the same way as no man is compelled to play in a regimental football or hockey team, to run or wrestle in competitions, or to act and assist at a regimental celebration, but does so because he feels it is for the honour of the regiment or the amusement of his comrades; so in civil life there is much work which has got to be done, and is most important, but which on the other hand no one is compelled to do and there is no pay for doing. We have considered the importance of the District Boards, and the importance that the new Panchayats will have. Good men of the right sort will be required to take up membership of these boards, and if such men do not come forward, things will go badly. Yet it is to be clearly realised that nobody will get a single anna for all the work he does as a member of these Boards, any more than a member of a Bazaar Committee in a regiment, while on the other hand the work will often be tedious and wearying. Duties like this have to be done through a feeling of Citizenship—that we owe it as a duty to do unpaid work for the community from which we derive so many benefits. One more instance of this kind may be taken. The Moplah revolt reduced many people to absolute poverty; they had no food, no clothes, no houses to live in; Government did what it could, but it could not

do everything, and yet these poor people could not be allowed to starve. Here Citizenship stepped in, in the persons of the Servants of India Society, who appealed to the public to give them money, with which their representatives in Malabar provided food, clothing and shelter for the refugees. The principle we can all see—that of doing something for nothing without hope of reward. Much can be done in a general way, landlords helping their tenants in bad times, employers looking after their employees and servants and so on, while on special occasions—famine, epidemic, disease etc., our duties as good citizens are even more obvious.

Citizenship then does not consist merely of knowing about how we are governed, and obedience to our lawful superiors—though that is a most important part of it; it is a very practical thing, and means that if we are to be good citizens, we must in our own private lives remember the group or community in which we are living, and in all our actions try to do our best for it.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW INDIA IS DIVIDED

In previous chapters we have had occasion to refer at times to the various parts, called provinces, into which India is divided for the purposes of Government. Most of us know the name of the Province in which we live, and we may have heard of others by name; but before we go on to learn how the Provinces are governed, it is very necessary for us to know something more about them.

If we realise the fact that the average length of our country from North to South is 1,400 miles or so, we shall understand that the cleverest kings have never been able to rule over it entirely by themselves. You will have read in your history how even the Mogul Emperors, who never really ruled over all India, had to divide their land into provinces in order that it should be governed properly; and so in the same way the British have been compelled to divide India into Provinces, realising that it is too big to be governed in any other way.

India is divided into three main parts. In the first place there are the possessions of those great and important Indian Princes who, though they owe allegiance to the King-Emperor, are yet permitted to manage their own internal affairs as far as possible. Looking at the map, we see that they consist—to mention the principal ones only—of Mysore in the south with Hyderabad immediately above it, Gwalior in the centre, Baroda to the west, and Kashmir in the extreme north.

(I) *The Indian States*

Next in order come what are known as the Provinces.

(2) *The
Provinces*

There is one man in India, called the Viceroy and Governor-General, about whom we shall hear more later, who is sent from England by the King-Emperor to act for him and rule over India. He exercises general control over all our country, much in the same way as a Commanding Officer does over his regiment. But just as a C. O. cannot go into every detail, so the Viceroy has his Company Commanders, who are known as Governors, and rule over sections of India on his behalf. We will now look at the map and see where these provinces are. Right down in the south-east, the bottom right hand of the map, we see the first of these—Burma. This is really not geographically a part of India at all, but is governed as part of it. Looking across to the west, to India proper, we first come at the extreme south to Madras, which is on either side of the State of Mysore ; and has sea-coast both on its eastern and western sides. Going up north, we see that the whole of the western side of India right up to the Frontier is occupied by one province, which is called Bombay. To the east of it, just North of the State of Hyderabad, come the Central Provinces, which occupy, as their name shows, the middle of India ; to the east of them, and between them and the sea, comes the province of Bihar and Orissa. The remainder of the provinces we can best remember if we trace the course of the famous river Ganges from the sea upwards. On the sea, and stretching inland up the river comes Bengal with Assam north-east of it ; further up, and due north of the Central Provinces are the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Going on further to the north-west

we see, between the northern part of Bombay and the State of Kashmir, the province of the Punjab.

The last division of India consists of those parts of the country, which for various reasons it is thought fit should be left to the Viceroy to govern under his own arrangements. These consist of Coorg, a small piece of land south-west of Mysore ; Delhi, the capital of India, and the country round it, between the United Provinces and the Punjab ; British Baluchistan to the west-south-west and the North-west Frontier Province to the west-north-west of the Punjab ; Ajmer-Merwara in Rajputana, and the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal south-west of Burma.

PART II

CHAPTER IX

EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF A PROVINCE

We learned in the last chapter into what provinces India is divided; we will now consider how the Government of any one of these provinces is carried on. We all know that although in a regiment every order is issued in the name of the C. O. and on his authority, yet in practice a great many of the orders are sent out by his subordinates. The Quartermaster may ask the Adjutant for a fatigue party to load up some carts; the C. O. may know nothing about it, yet the order in theory comes from him. We have to realise that, in order to get the work of organising a regiment properly done, the C. O. has an office; over one section of that office the Adjutant presides, over the other the Quartermaster; further that in order that these officers may be able to fix their minds on the business of making decisions, they have a staff of subordinates, clerks, typists etc., to do the routine work for them. When the orders which come from the office are issued, they are considered as coming from "Battalion Headquarters", by which is meant the C. O. and all those who help him.

Similarly in the Government of a Province, we can quite understand that for the Governor in person to do everything is more impossible than for the C. O. of a regiment. And so we have the Headquarters of a Province organised into departments just like a regiment, only these Departments are many more in

**Provincial
Executive**
(1) *Meaning of the
word "Govern-
ment"*

number. In the Punjab, the Governor has four assistants, in Bombay, which is a large province, we find that he has seven. These men are called Councillors and Ministers (the difference between the two we shall learn later), and they are each in charge of one part of the duty of governing. One for instance, is in charge of Finance, another of Education. But once again, just as an Adjutant or Quartermaster, if left to do his work unaided, would find himself quite unable to cope with the amount of work he would have to do, and in consequence is allowed several subordinate assistants, so the Councillors and Ministers have their offices and staffs. Some of these are called Secretaries to Government, others are known as Heads of Departments; as in a regiment all police are under a Police Havildar, all Medical Work under the Medical Officer, and all educational work under the Indian Officer Instructor of Education, so we get in a province an Inspector-General of Police, a Director-General of the Medical Service, and a Director of Public Instruction, who are responsible for the persons working in those departments. The whole of this Headquarters, the Governor, his councillors and ministers, the secretaries and heads of departments, are all known together by one word—Government. All orders and letters from the Adjutant's and Quartermaster's offices are said to come from the Headquarters of such and such a Battalion; in the same way whenever a decision is come to at the headquarters of a province it is issued as a decision of "Government".

When, in a regiment, the C. O., or any of his assistants working in his name, issues an order, we have seen that these orders are not issued to the

(2) *Chains of Responsibility*

men direct, but through Company Commanders. So in the same way, we get the "chain" system working in the higher stages of a Provincial Government, just as we saw it working among Lambardars, Zaildars and Tehsildars. Decisions of Government regarding any particular part of a province are sent to the Commissioners of Divisions*. Just as a District is a group of Tehsils, so a number of Districts grouped together form a Division. The Commissioner will then pass the orders on to the Deputy Commissioners, who will in turn pass them on to the local authorities.

Suppose orders have come to a regiment that inoculation against plague has got to be carried out. We know that the C. O., although he can order the Medical Officer to perform this duty at a certain time, cannot order him to use a certain kind of needle, or give him any other order involving medical knowledge. So in a Province, for all the servants of Government we see working in our district, Police Officers, Civil Surgeons, Executive Engineers, Forest Officers, Headmasters of big Schools, there are two chains of responsibility. They obey the local executive officers—Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner—in all general matters, but receive instructions regarding the specialist side of their work from their superiors in their own service.

In a regiment we know that the power of our Commanding Officer, although very great, can only be exercised upon those who belong to the regiment placed under his command; he cannot, for instance, order the Battalion which is in the next lines to our own

(3) *The Central Subjects*

*Except in Madras.

to mount guard over our lines; the order, we know, would simply not be obeyed. Any such order must come from a higher authority—the Colonel Commandant, who has authority over both battalions. In other words, a C. O. has power over those matters only which concern his own regiment; he cannot issue orders which affect any body outside it. In exactly the same way, the Government of a Province cannot give orders which may affect people outside the limits of the Province over which it rules. For example, suppose a Punjab regiment to be stationed in the province of Bombay, the Bombay Government cannot give orders that that regiment shall always be stationed there. The army is raised from all over India and it has as its duty the defence, not of any special part of the country, but of India as a whole. So the issuing of orders to the army is kept in the hands of the Viceroy and his Council (with whom we shall deal later), and is known as a Central Subject. Similarly, if a letter or a telegram is sent from Madras to Lahore, that letter or telegram will not be sent only through one province. It will pass through several to reach its destination; so the administration of the Posts and Telegraphs lies not with the provinces but with the Central Government. The Railways of India run from one province to another, and they also are not the concern of any special Provincial Government, but of the Central Government. The Indian Civil Service, and other Imperial Services, though they work for the Provincial Governments, are appointed for all India; therefore their organisation is not a concern of the Provincial Government. Similarly, a Provincial Government cannot interfere with, or discuss anything concerning the public Debt of India, as the

money lent was lent to India as a whole and not to their province specially. Nor on the other hand, can they control the amount their province has to contribute to the expenses of the Central Government ; if one Province refused to pay its allotted share, the others would have to make it up, which would be grossly unfair. If a treaty is being made with Afghanistan or Persia, it obviously cannot be made by the Government of Bengal ; such a treaty affects everybody in India, and is clearly the affair of the Central Government. Similarly, with any other subject, if we think out carefully whether it affects one province only, or other provinces as well, we shall be able to know whether it can be dealt with by a Provincial Government, or is reserved to the Central Government of India.

CHAPTER X

THE SERVANTS OF GOVERNMENT

We have now described the "Chain of Responsibility" in a Province from its lowest to its highest point, from the village Lambardar to the Governor and his assistants. We have now to consider who are the men who fill these posts. You know in a vague sort of way that the Deputy Commissioner is probably an Englishman and his subordinates probably Indians, but apart from that you perhaps know as little about these men as the average civilian knows about how we in the army are organised. In a regiment, we know that the orders sent to it from above are carried out by three sets of men with different degrees of responsibility. First there are those officers, mainly British, who have a "commission", or document stating their rights and duties as an officer, signed by the King-Emperor himself, secondly Indian Officers, whose commissions are given by the Viceroy and lastly the N. C. O.'s and sepoys. We know that certain posts will be filled by men holding a certain grade. The Adjutant will always hold a King's commission; the Jemadar Adjutant will always be an Indian Officer; the Quartermaster-Havildar will be a Non-Commissioned Officer.

A similar arrangement exists in the organisation of Civil Life, where the "fighting troops", infantry, cavalry and artillery, may be said to be represented by the three Civil Services. The Indian Civil Service is the name given to the "King's Commission Officers" of Civil Life. Up to quite recently it has

consisted principally of Englishmen ; the examination for admittance to it was held in England and very few Indians succeeded in getting in. Now the regulations have been changed, and examinations will, in future, be held in India, as well as in England—which will mean that many more Indians will henceforth be admitted to the higher posts in the Government. The history of the Indian Civil Service is interesting. In the old days when British India was in the hands of a trading company, the Company's employees' chief business was trade ; governing the country was their secondary work, and so long as it made money, the Company naturally cared very little whether India was well governed or badly governed. Later on, when the British Government began to interfere, they forced the Company to make the men who were doing the work of governing into a separate Service, who had to promise not to take presents or do private trade of their own (1793). Sixty years later just before the final end of the Company, the system of nomination was abolished, and the Service thrown open to every subject of the British Empire, places being allotted on the results of an examination. Later on it was decided to make the subordinate workers for Government also into organised services, with the result that we have now two other services. The Provincial Service, is appointed by the Provincial Government, and works only for them ; its personnel correspond to the Indian officers in the Army. Lastly we have the Subordinate Service, which fills the lower posts, and corresponds to the rank and file of a regiment. It should be noted that a member of the Indian Service is under the Government of India ; though he usually does most, if not all, of his service in one province, he may be sent to work in another province (which is rare)

or may be sent to work under the Government of India (which happens fairly frequently). Also, though the upper posts in a province are generally reserved for the I.C.S., members of the Provincial Service are often appointed to them. The Provincial Service is partly, though not entirely, recruited by promotion from the Subordinate Service.

Those of us who have been on active service will know that, although a war is carried out by the fighting parts of the army, and they alone can bring it to a successful end by beating the enemy, yet the army is helpless without the aid of the non-fighting services. It must have food, water and ammunition, and the bringing up of all these requires transport. Further, the sick and wounded must be attended to, and inter-communication assured by telegraph and despatch riders. Hence we see that the S. and T. Corps, the Ordnance, the I. M. S. and the Corps of Signals etc., are all essential for the efficient conducting of a war. Similarly, in Civil life, the Civil Service, though generally responsible for the efficient carrying out of the orders of Government, requires other helping services to make its work effective. The Public Works Department assures the provision of proper roads, and good buildings, the Post and Telegraph and Railway Services assure good communication, the Police assure good order; the medical Services look after the sick and endeavour to get better sanitation; the educational services train the boyhood of the country. It is not necessary to enter in detail into the organisation of these services. The general principle which governs the way in which they are recruited is that there is an Indian Service, insisting

(3) *The other
Government
Services*

on high qualifications, which is largely recruited from England; a Provincial Service, organised by the Province, and often a subordinate Service as well. For instance, take the Police. Inspector-Generals and their Deputies, District and Assistant Superintendents, belong to the Imperial Service; Deputy Superintendents to the Provincial Service; while there is a lower grade still which provides Inspectors, and Constables. The same principle applies more or less in a similar way to all the other services. All alike are servants of the Government, and responsible to it, and it is Government which recruits them and guarantees them their pension. But that is no reason for them to disregard in their work the feelings of the general public, nor on the other hand is there any excuse for the general public to obstruct them, or fail to give them every assistance in carrying out their work. There is far too great a tendency for Government Servants on the one hand and the people in general on the other, to stand apart from each other; the people expect the Government Servants to do everything for them, never give them any help or encouragement, and then accuse them of incompetence if everything does not go absolutely right; Government Servants often despise the general public, regarding it as feeble and helpless. Real Citizenship consists in each co-operating with the other. The Government Servant provides organisation, and devotes to this duty time which the ordinary citizen cannot spare from his private business, while the latter should recognise the value of the work the Government Servants are doing, and make it doubly effective by his interest and active assistance, whenever he has the time or the opportunity to do so.

CHAPTER XI

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Orders in a regiment are, as we know, of two kinds. There are daily orders, which record the decision of the Commanding Officer on points which arise from day to day; and there are Standing Orders, which are altered as little as possible, and regulate that part of regimental life which does not, or should not be liable to much change. The first class of orders may be made in a hurry, and the C. O. may consult, perhaps, only the Adjutant before he orders them to be sent out. The Standing Orders are, or should be, framed deliberately and carefully, and that no injustice may be done, the C. O. will call in and take the advice of representative Indian Officers of each class in the regiment.

Exactly the same principle prevails in the organisation of the Government of a province. Orders of a day-to-day character are made by the Governor and his advisers, and carried out as described in Chapter IX; but for the making of a "Standing Order", or, as it is called in Civil Life, a Law a slower and more careful process is considered necessary.

In 1861, shortly after the Government of India was removed from the Company, and taken over by the Crown, it was decided that, in the Provinces of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, when the Governor and his Council of advisers, (who were all Civil Servants), wished to make laws, they should call in to assist them extra members some of whom were officials and some

members of the general public, with the object of ascertaining the views of the people in general concerning the proposed law. It should be noted that the total number of these men did not exceed 12, and all were nominated by the Governor. In 1892 the numbers were increased and certain elected members introduced. In 1886, this system was introduced into the United Provinces, and in 1897 into the Punjab. The two forms of the Governor's Council gradually came to be given two distinct names—the ordinary council is called the Executive Council—we shall consider it in detail later; the "law-making" council is called the Legislative Council (the word Legislative in English means "law-making"). It is with this latter form of Council that we are at present concerned. These councils were strictly limited in their duties by the law of 1861; they could do nothing but consider and make laws under the Governor's supervision. In 1892 they obtained the privilege of asking questions concerning the actions of Government, though to a strictly limited degree.

In 1909, when Lord Minto was Viceroy, it was decided to increase very greatly the size and powers of these Councils in order to get the Government more into touch with the ideas of the people, now that the country was becoming more educated. So a law was passed by the British Parliament (which ever since the Crown took over India from the Company has been able to make laws for India, though it does not often do so). This law provided for a large increase in the numbers of members in the Councils, and a greater extension of the principle of election. Further, under the supervision of the President, who could disallow what he considered

improper questions and resolutions, the right of asking questions and debating resolutions was considerably extended. In Bombay the numbers were raised to 50, and a majority of non-official members established—a great difference from the small and entirely nominated Councils of 1861. But, before we pass on to consider the Councils as they are to-day, we must clearly understand the limits of the power of the old councils. The councils, like a regimental committee, could advise, but no more. The Government usually considered their resolutions, but never had any obligation to act in accordance with them; the Council could criticise, but not control, the actions of the Government, and even such laws as it made could be disallowed in all cases by the Governor or Governor-General.

It began to be felt, even before the war broke out, that the time might soon come when,
(3) 1917 owing to the material and educational progress of India, it would be possible to give to the inhabitants of India a greater control over their own affairs. Just as in each district a District Board elected to a large degree by the people had been established, so it was felt that it would at some future time be possible for the Legislative Council to become something like what the English Parliament has become—a body of men directly elected by the people, and so representing them, and exercising in their name a large amount of actual control over the business of Government. When the war came, and India contributed such a large share in men and money to the common cause, this feeling grew, both in England and India. Eventually, in 1917, the British Government decided to take steps in the matter, and sent out Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India. He, together with Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy, toured

all over India, and heard the views of all kinds of people British and Indian, official and non-official. Finally as a result of the report sent in by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, the British Parliament passed a law, under which we are now governed. The changes made in the Central Government of India will be discussed later (see chapters 15 and 16); the changes made in the provinces we will now consider as briefly as possible.

The main differences which have been made in the election of the Legislative Councils are in the first place, that the number of the elected members has largely increased; in the Punjab there are now 71 elected members out of 93, and the proportion in other provinces is similar. In the second place, the elections have been made direct. In the old days, no voter elected a member of a Legislative Council; he simply elected members for the District Board, and they, when occasion required, elected members to the Council. Now, when a man votes, he knows that he is voting direct for a man to go to the Council; it will thus be seen that the Councils now-a-days can claim to represent the general public in a way none of the old Councils could claim to do. Even the non-elected members are chosen to a great extent so as to represent classes too weak to be able to elect a member—such as the Indian Christians, —or too backward to have votes, such as the “depressed classes.”

The powers of the new councils have been much increased. The Legislative Council of a province is empowered to make laws “for the peace and good Government of the territories for the time being constituting that province.”

The restrictions on this power are, in the first place, that the council may not pass laws on any central subjects (see chapter 9 section 3), and that the Governor, if the Council passes a Law which he considers to involve danger to the safety of the Province, can either stop it altogether, ask the Council to reconsider the matter, or send the case up to the Governor-General, for his decision. Similarly, if the Council refuses to pass a law considered essential by the Governor, he can pass it without their assent, subject to the consent of the Governor-General. The second power now given to the Councils is that they are entitled to have laid before them the estimated income of the province for the coming year, and either to approve or reject, in whole or in part, the proposals of the Government regarding the manner in which it is to be expended. This privilege is again however limited. In the case of "reserved subjects" (which will be explained in the next chapter), Government can ignore the views of the Council; and whatever may be the subject, the Governor has, in cases of emergency, power to authorise such expenditure as he considers "necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the Province".

From the above brief account we may be able to understand, in the first place, what great changes have been made since the first Legislative Councils were set up, and also to realise how much control is now possessed by the people of a province over the work of making laws and providing money for carrying out those laws. We shall see in the next two chapters the control which has been given to them over the actual Government itself.

CHAPTER XII

GOVERNOR, EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS AND MINISTERS

We have described in a previous chapter the way in which the orders of Government in a province are passed on, so that they reach to every man in the province, and we referred to the man who issued these orders as the Governor, and the men who assist him as Executive Councillors and Ministers. We must now try to understand who these people are, and the changes which have been made by the recent reforms in the Executive as well as the law-making part of the provincial Government. To do this we must first consider the old system, as it existed before the reforms came into force in 1921.

First of all, as regards the head of the province.

***The Governor, his
power & advisers***
(1) *History*

We have referred to him hitherto always as the "Governor", but those who come from the Punjab and the U. P. will perhaps have heard of him as the "Lieutenant-Governor." This is quite correct. The provinces used to be divided into two classes. In the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal (which are the oldest and are known as Presidencies) the Governor was always appointed from England, and very often had no previous experience of India. It was therefore considered necessary for him to have advisers with Indian experience. These consisted eventually of two Englishmen—members of the I.C.S.—and one Indian. In the other provinces, the head was a senior member of the Indian Civil Service, with the title of Lieutenant-Governor: as he was always a man

of long Indian experience it was not considered necessary for him to have a council, and the Secretaries worked directly under him.

When the reforms were made by the British Parliament, all were agreed that Councils were an advantage to a Governor and in the second place that the distinction of title was apt, rather unfairly, to give greater prestige to the three Governors. So now every province including Burma has a Governor and an Executive Council, with the exception of those parts of India governed under the direct authority of the Government of India, with which we are not at present concerned. When it was decided that the time had come to give, so far as was possible, to the people of India a greater amount of control in the management of their own affairs, changes were made, not only as we have already seen, in the composition and power of the Legislative Councils, but in the working of the actual Executive Government as well.

In Great Britain, where what is called full "representative Government" now prevails, the Prime Minister (who is responsible for the selection and work of all other Ministers) is always a man who is acceptable to a majority of the members of Parliament. The King-Emperor never chooses a man who cannot get on well with the Parliament, and if the Prime Minister loses the confidence of Parliament, the King will dismiss him ; if he is dismissed the other Ministers will go too. Now if we realise that the Prime Minister and other Ministers correspond to the Executive Council, and Parliament to the Legislative Council of an Indian Province, and that the British Government is anxious to

Introduce the British system into India so far as is possible or safe, we shall understand the meaning of what follows. It was thought that to ask the Governor to select all his Executive Councillors from among the Legislative Council and to dismiss them if they were not acceptable to the Legislative Council was too big a step to take at once. It was felt that the people have not yet had sufficient experience to elect the best possible men as Legislative Councillors, and even if they had, these members have not had sufficient experience of the art of Government to make it safe to compose the Executive Council of them and no one else. As we know in the Army, to put inexperienced men at once into positions of great authority is to ask for disaster; they must first be trained in positions where the work is similar, but the responsibility less. And so it has been decided that, (just as when the Platoon system for infantry was being considered, it was introduced not into every regiment at once, but into a few regiments to see how it would work in practice) the system of Ministers responsible to the Legislative Council as well as the Governor should be introduced in regard to certain matters only. The subjects selected for this experiment are those which, though of great importance and interest to the people in general, are yet not so vital that a breakdown in their management would cause anything more than great inconvenience. All other subjects are kept back under the control of the Governor, and of Councillors under the old system. Matters dealt with under the old system are known as "Reserved Subjects" those which are dealt with under the new system are known as "Transferred Subjects". We will now consider how the Government is carried on as regards each class of subject.

Reserved subjects are as a rule those subjects the efficient performance of which is essential, and a breakdown in which would cause great confusion or be liable to endanger the proper preservation of law and order in the province. We shall therefore find that all subjects such as Finance, which demand the greatest care and administrative experience, and Police, on the efficiency of whom depends the peace of the province, are reserved to the Governor and his Executive Council. The system on which they govern involves, in the provinces which have always had an Executive Council such as Bombay and Madras, no change from their old system except the restriction of subjects. In others, such as the Punjab and U. P. where in old days the Lieutenant-Governor reigned alone, the change is considerable. The reserved subjects are divided between the Councillors (4 in Bombay, 2 in the Punjab). Each Councillor deals with the subjects under his charge and issues orders to subordinate officers in all ordinary cases ; but any matter of real importance is brought up before the whole Council, presided over by the Governor. If a majority of the Councillors wish for a thing to be done the Governor will, except in cases of great urgency or danger, accept their view, even though he may not agree with it. If on the other hand, the Council is divided, the Governor has the deciding vote. When the Council has decided, its decision is then published as a decision of the " Governor-in-Council."

The decision thus made, if it is not necessary for a law to be framed on the subject, but only for some action to be carried out under the existing law, will then be passed on to the Commissioner of the Division concerned,

and the decision of the Governor-in-Council will be carried into effect through the "Executive Chain." If on the other hand, a law has to be made, the Council will have a law framed, and brought before the Legislative Council : if the Legislative Council passes the Law as required, there will be no difficulty ; the law as passed will be notified to Executive officers, who will carry it out. If, on the other hand, the Legislative Council refuses to pass the law, the Governor will act as mentioned in chapter II. He will certify that the law is "essential for the discharge of his responsibility" and sign the law, which then becomes valid, even though the Legislative Council has refused to pass it. The point which must be remembered is that the Governor, in regard to these subjects, is responsible, through the Viceroy, to the King-Emperor and the British Parliament and so long as he remains thus responsible, he must, in the last resort, be able to have his way. It is worth noting that though the new system has been working for nearly two years, there has not yet arisen any case to date*, in which the Governor has had to exercise his power, but all the same it should never be forgotten that this power exists, and that Governors will be prepared to exercise it if the necessity arises. The same procedure is adopted regarding money. Money grants necessary for carrying out the administration of reserved subjects are laid before the Legislative Council, but if it refuses to grant them, the Governor can restore a law, on his own responsibility, as essential for the carrying on of those parts of the Government, for which he alone is responsible.

* November 1922,

CHAPTER XIII

GOVERNOR, EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS AND MINISTERS (*contd.*)

Transferred subjects are as a rule such subjects as

(4) **Transferred** are vitally concerned with the life
Subjects of the people in general, whilst on
Governor and the other hand, if they are badly or
Ministers inefficiently administered, the consequences, though serious, would not involve such great danger as would be involved in a breakdown, for instance, of the Finance or Police arrangements. Education will always be found to be one of them; Local Self-Government and its organisation, the Control and Supervision of local and district boards is another, and among other subjects that may be found are Agriculture, Industries, and the Excise. Ministers vary in number just like Executive Councillors. In big provinces such as Bombay, we find 3; in the Punjab, on the other hand, there are two only. Ministers are appointed by the Governor and hold office for as long a time as he thinks fit; provided that they are members of the Legislative Council, or become members within 6 months of their appointment as Ministers. They are to be paid the same salaries as Executive Councillors, unless the Legislative Council votes that they are to be smaller.

The Governor, in relation to transferred subjects, is instructed to act on the advice of his Ministers, unless he considers there is positive danger in their action, when he can over-rule them; but such cases are expected to be rare. Ministers do not form a Council, but each

Minister is the executive head of his department: he can, and does, ask advice from the Governor, and the Executive Councillors, but the decision on any subject connected with his department lies with him, and it is he who gives orders to the "executive chain" on all matters connected with his department. The real check on the actions of a Minister comes from the Legislative Council. If the line of action he wishes to carry out involves the passing of a law, he must draft the law and submit it to the Legislative Council; if they refuse to pass it, he cannot ask the Governor to "Certify" it; the Governor would refuse. Similarly, if a Minister wishes to spend money in carrying out his plans, he must lay before the Legislative Council a statement of the money he proposes to spend. The Council can then either pass the grant, reject it altogether, or pass part of it only; here once again, the Minister cannot go to the Governor and ask him to "Certify" a grant; the Governor would again refuse. Thus we see that the power of the Legislative Council over the Ministers is very great. The very fact that the Council if it gets annoyed with a Minister, can refuse him the money and the laws necessary to carry out his wishes, will make the position of such Minister quite impossible and he will have to go to the Governor and hand in his resignation, just as the Prime Minister of Great Britain does when Parliament turns against him. We shall consider the importance of this from the point of view of the general population of India, and of the Army, in the next chapter. In the meanwhile we have to realise one more point. Although the Government of a Province is now carried on by two different sets of people, yet everything possible is done to keep the two governments in touch. The Governor

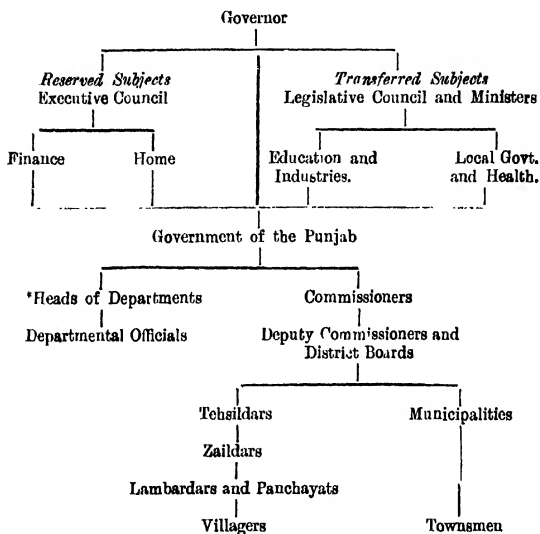
is* instructed to "encourage the habit of joint deliberation" between himself, his Executive Councillors and Ministers. An Executive Councillor is not expected to speak or vote in the Legislative Council against anything proposed by a Minister, though he may do so in its favour; similarly a Minister may not speak or vote against a proposal of the Executive Council on a reserved subject. In other words as far as possible the two halves of the Government while retaining full responsibility for the portions of the work assigned to them, must keep on the best possible terms with each other and the Governor, and not, by undignified quarrelling in public, lower the prestige of Government.

* In the Instructions given to him by the King-Emperor before he assumes office.

Diagram 6

THE EXECUTIVE CHAIN OF A PROVINCE (Complete)

(1) PUNJAB



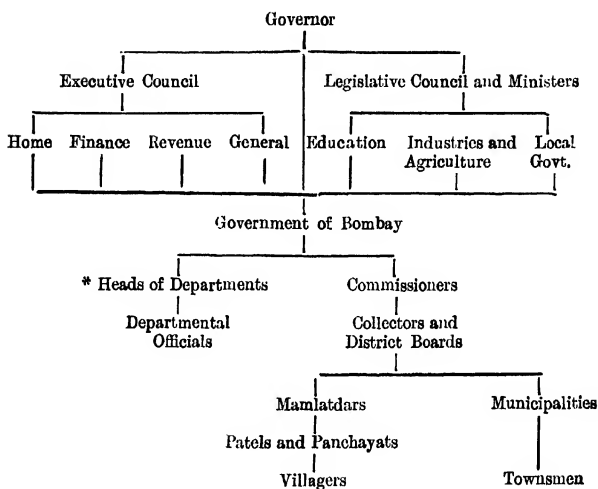
*i. e. Indian Medical Service, Indian Educational Service, Indian Police, Public Works Department, Indian Forest Service, etc.

Note.—In Madras there are no Commissioners (*Vide* Diagram 2.)

Diagram 7

THE EXECUTIVE CHAIN OF A PROVINCE (Complete)

(2) BOMBAY



* i. e. Indian Medical Service, Indian Educational Service, Indian Police, Public Works Department, Indian Forest Service etc.

Note.—In Madras there are no Commissioners (*Vide* Diagram 2.)

CHAPTER XIV

ELECTIONS ; THE VALUE OF THE VOTE

Before it is possible for us to estimate the value of the new Reforms to Indian people in general and the Army in particular, we must first of all know the method by which men are chosen to go to the Legislative Councils. We have already remarked that in the Punjab, 71 out of 93 are elected by the people. In the U.P. 100 out of 123 are so elected and in Bombay 86 out of 111. The figures showing how these men are elected you will see from diagram No. 8 ; what we should here notice is the principle on which the elections are conducted. It was

Elections

(1) Who are represented

recognised, in the first place, that there are certain special interests that ought to be represented, which if made to take part in the ordinary elections would have no chance of ever electing a man to represent them : for instance, the University of Lahore, the Landholders of

(a) Special Electorates

various provinces, the European tea planters in Assam etc. etc. In the second place there are certain communities, which though many in number, are spread all over a province, and cannot therefore return a member in any election for a certain area such as a District. These two classes vote quite apart from Geography, as communities or interests. For example there is one Anglo-Indian Member for Madras ; he will be voted for by all members of that community, in whatever part of the province they may reside.

(b) Communal Electorates

We now come to the General Electorates—that is elections conducted on the principle of Geography. Here again there are differences. In the first place Town Members are distinguished from Rural Members, in the second place, some of the big communities take part in these General elections, in those parts where they are present in large numbers—*e.g.* the Sikhs in the Punjab, and the Hindus everywhere.

The object of these careful arrangements is not hard to understand. They have been made in order that when a Legislative Council meets and is called upon to control the actions of Ministers, and advise Executive Councillors, it may represent every class and interest in the community, so that if any law is proposed which will affect for good or ill the fortunes of any particular community or interest, the members of that community or representatives of that interest may be there to speak, vote, and influence, if they can, the votes of the others.

The next point we have to consider is, who is allowed to vote. In the old days
 (2) *Who vote* no voter voted directly for a member of his provincial Council; members of District Boards etc., for whom he had voted, chose the representatives to go to the Council. Now the elections are absolutely direct. A Hindu, provided he possesses certain qualifications, who lives at Lahore can personally give his opinion by vote, as to who should represent the Lahore non-Mussalmans in the Punjab Legislative Council. These qualifications we will now proceed to consider.

The general idea upon which the voting system is

based is that if a man is to have a vote, he must not be one who possesses no property or money, and contributes nothing to the Government in the way of taxes. On the other hand, as regards the elections to the Provincial Legislative Councils the qualification has been made as small as possible, and thus in every province the small cultivators in the country and many of those who work for fairly small wages in the towns are enabled to vote. In the Punjab, for instance, any countryman who is assessed for land revenue at Rs. 25, and any townsman who occupies a house worth Rs. 4,000 or for which he pays a rent of not less than Rs. 96 a year, is entitled to vote. Certain obvious other qualifications are also necessary for both voters and candidates. They must be of sound mind, over 21 years of age, and subjects of the King-Emperor, nor must they have been convicted of serious criminal offences. But apart from these necessary provisions, and the property qualifications mentioned above, no man can be deprived of his vote, however uneducated he is, and whatever may be his religion and caste. In the Punjab, no less than 5 lakhs of persons possess the vote; in Bombay it is the same almost ($4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs), while in the U.P. there are 13 lakhs of voters, in Madras 12 lakhs, and in Bengal 10 lakhs.

At this point, now that we have come to an end of our review of the Provincial Government and the way it works from the villager tilling his fields up to the Governor and his Councillors and Ministers who are above all, and before we go on to consider the central Government of India, we ought to consider the practical point of what use the vote, which we have been discussing, can be to us, and what are the duties of a good citizen as regards the vote.

In the first place it should be clear to all that the Provincial Legislative Council has, by the recent reforms, become of such a character that it should really represent us. Whatever our class, whether Sikh, Hindu, Mussalman, or any other, we can choose a man to stand up for the interest of our class ; if we are countrymen we can choose a countryman, if townsmen, we can choose a townsman, if landholders, we can elect one of ourselves, if engaged in commerce, we have commercial representatives to choose. There can be no doubt that every class, every community and every district can now be represented in the Council. Secondly these men, if we have chosen men who really represent us, will go to Lahore or Bombay or wherever our Provincial Capital is, and there they can, in the Council, support the making of laws and the spending of money in directions which will help us, and speak against such as will harm us. Thus, though we may be 200 miles from the capital, our voices will, so to speak, be heard by those who rule us. Thirdly, as regards the transferred subjects, they can, by their votes, arguments and influence not only advise what is to be done, but can actually control it. If it is proposed to build a village school in every village in our district, and we are all anxious for this to be done, our representative can vote himself for this to be done, and if he can persuade a majority of the council to do the same, the money will be voted and the School will be built. Of course, as regards reserved subjects, our men can only advise the Executive Council, but even so we know that the advice of the Legislative Council will only be rejected for very important reasons. Lastly,

(3) *The vote a privilege and a duty*

(a) *Privilege*

supposing our representative is not faithful to us, is slack in attending meetings of the Council at which matters of importance are being discussed, and in general acts as though he did not care for us, the remedy will lie in our own hands. The elections will come round again in a year or two, and we can then refuse to elect that man again, and choose someone else.

At the first election under the new constitution out of 5 lakhs of Punjab voters only
(b) *Duty* 1 lakh voted. In Bombay, roughly the same number voted, and in the U. P. 3 lakhs out of 13. Now, that being the case it is impossible to say that the Provincial Councils of these Provinces represent the voters as a whole; they represent those and those only who went and voted. The reason for the small number of voters was twofold; in the first place the extremists went round telling everybody not to "co-operate" with the Government, but to stand apart and try and get complete self-Government at once. With these we shall deal later. But probably many of those who failed to vote did so either because they could not understand the advantages which we have just been discussing, or from sheer laziness. It was a trouble to have to go several miles just to put a mark on a piece of paper and choose between two or three men both of them perhaps unknown to anyone in the village; and so many stayed away.

Secondly, many voted for the most mistaken reasons. In many places, men voted when they received a ten-rupee note or even less from the candidate or his agent; others voted for the candidate who sent ekkas out to the villages to fetch voters to the place of voting; others again voted simply for the

man who promised the most. And so we see that in the first place, many men, through the influence of agitators, ignorance of any idea of citizenship or mere laziness, failed to vote at all, while many voted for reasons which were either dishonest or merely foolish.

And so, from a brief consideration of what happened at this election, our duty in the matter becomes clear. In the first place as regards ourselves. When we leave the army and become pensioners, we shall have votes; it will be our duty to use those votes, otherwise we shall only have ourselves to blame if our interests are neglected in the making of laws, and the spending of public money. In the second place, we must vote honestly and with care. A man who gives us 10 rupees each or a free carriage-drive for our votes may go to our capital and by the foolish laws he supports do damage to our class or district which may involve lakhs of rupees. But our duty is not to ourselves only. When we leave the army, we shall certainly have received an education far better than the majority of our fellow villagers and we shall, above all, have learnt a great deal about our rights and duties as citizens; we must not only vote right ourselves, but use the influence which our education and knowledge of the world gives us to induce our fellow villagers to give their votes for men who will do us all good and not harm. India is above all an agricultural country; nine-tenths of her inhabitants spend their lives in cultivating the soil; and yet, although our lists show us that special members are elected by the country, if we enter a Legislative Council we shall find it full of traders, lawyers and other townsmen. If the agricultural population of India suddenly wake up and find that all laws passed and all public money spent are in the

interest of the town dweller, they will only have themselves to blame. The countryman can, if he wishes, control over half the seats in every council, and if he can only be induced to see the importance of the vote, he will soon control them. The army is composed very largely of agriculturalists, and the interests of the land are very largely those of the army too. Soldiers, not only after they retire, but also whenever they are on leave at home, should feel it their duty to impress the facts we have just been discussing upon every voter in their own and the surrounding villages. The future prosperity of India lies largely in the hands of the rural voter, and it is the duty of those of us who realise this fact to make him realise it too.

Diagram 8

COMPOSITION OF THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

I <i>Nominated</i> Officials (includes Executive				
	Councillors)	...	...	16
	* Non-officials	...	...	6
	Total Nominated	...		22
II <i>Elected</i>				
	Punjab University	...	...	1
	Landholders	...	...	4
	Commerce and Industry	...		2
	Mussalmans (Rural)...	...		27
	„ (Urban)...	...		5
	Non-Mussalmans (Rural)	...		13
	„ (Urban)	...		7
	Sikhs (Rural)	...	...	11
	„ (Urban)	...	...	1
	Total elected...			<u>71</u>
	Grand Total	...		93

* *Note.*—Includes

2 to represent Europeans and Anglo-Indians

1 „ „ Indian Christians

1 „ „ The Punjabi Officers and Soldiers of his Majesty's
Indian Forces

PART III

CHAPTER XV

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—THE EXECUTIVE

In previous chapters reference has already been made to the authority which stands above Governors of Provinces and their Councils and Ministers. This authority, consisting of the Viceroy and his Council, we shall now proceed to consider. About the middle of the eighteenth century the British King and Parliament suddenly awoke to the fact that a trading company, which existed only for the purposes of commerce, had, largely against its own wish, (for military expeditions were costly and apt to consume all the profits of trade) conquered large portions of India. It was felt that it was not right, in the interests either of the British King and people, or in those of the peoples under the East India Company's rule, that the Company's power should be entirely uncontrolled.

When enquiries were made into how India was being governed, it was found that
(1) **1773** there was really no central authority at all, except in England. And so, in 1773, it was decided, that instead of the three virtually independent Governors of Madras, Bengal and Bombay, the Governor of Bengal, assisted by a Council, was to be supreme, and to receive the title of Governor-General. Eleven years later, the British Government interfered still further, and set up in England a Board of Control to supervise all the acts of the Company. As time went on the Government took

over more control, and the Company gradually lost its privileges, until after the great Mutiny in 1857, it was decided to abolish the Company altogether.

By this measure, the Governor-General became in name, what he had long been in reality, the servant of the Queen, and not of the Company. His position was further emphasised by the frequent use of the word Viceroy, and by the assumption of the title of Kaiser-i-Hind by Queen Victoria 20 years later. It is now never disputed that in India there is no man senior to the Viceroy and Governor-General, and that he is the representative of the King-Emperor himself.

Yet although this is the case, the power of the Viceroy is really limited. Not only (as we shall see later) are his actions controlled from England, but also, just like the Governors of Provinces, he has a Council, and against a majority of that Council he cannot, except in extreme cases, act. The great Governor-General Warren Hastings found it so irritating to have no authority over his Council that he succeeded in getting the power of overruling it in an emergency, and every Governor-General and Governor still has this power, but it is only exercised in what are considered extreme cases.

The Viceroy's Council does not consider everything that has to be done ; that used to be the process many years ago, but it was found to waste so much time that it was abandoned. And so we find that nowadays the work of the Viceroy and his Council is performed in the same way as that of a Provincial Governor and his Council and Ministers. Each member has a definite department assigned to him. Important matters only are

(3) *After*
1858

Executive Council
(1) *Working*

submitted to the Council as a whole. The decisions reached are issued as decisions of the Governor-General-in-Council. If these decisions concern the Central Subjects, *i. e.* those directly governed by the Viceroy or his Council, (see chapter 9 section 3) then the decision will be conveyed to the head of the department concerned; otherwise, if the decision is one which affects a Province, it will be notified to the Governor of that Province, and carried into effect through the Executive Councillor of Minister concerned with that subject.

By the recent reforms many of the restrictions which had from time to time been made
 (2) **Composition** regarding membership of the Executive Council of the Viceroy have disappeared. The chief rules which now have to be observed are in the first place that three members must be men who have had not less than ten years' experience in the Service of the Crown in India; that one must have law qualifications, British or Indian; and that three members at least must be Indians. The Council at present consists of eight members, including the Viceroy himself; it meets at any place to which the Viceroy chooses to summon it, but is generally at Delhi in the cold weather and Simla in the hot. The work is distributed as follows:— The Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India deals with foreign powers such as Persia, Nepal and Afghanistan, and is responsible for relations with Ruling Princes and Chiefs through Residents and Political Agents. This department also deals with the administration of the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmere-Merwara and British Baluchistan. There is no actual member for this department, the Viceroy himself controlling its activities.

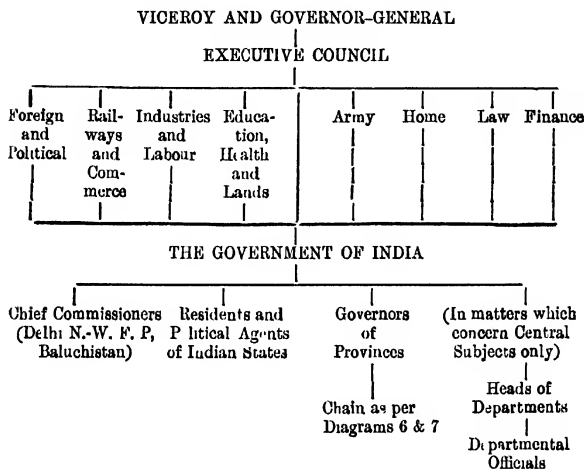
Next comes the Member for Railways and Commerce. He is in charge of the railways and shipping of India, and of all matters connected with internal and foreign trade. The Member for Industries and Labour is responsible for the administration of Posts and Telegraphs, for the construction of Public Works, for Irrigation, and for the development of the Industries of India. One Councillor is in general charge of those subjects the control of which has been largely handed over to Provincial Governments, some of them Reserved Subjects, such as Land Revenue, others Transferred, such as Education, Health and Agriculture. This Councillor is known as the Member for Education, Health and Lands, and he also supervises the administration of several minor Central Subjects. The Home Member is responsible for the administration of the I.C.S., and for supervising Governments in regard to Justice, Police, and other Reserved Subjects concerned with the maintenance of internal order. The Law Member advises the Government on legal affairs, and is in charge of the drawing up of laws to be submitted to the Legislative Assembly and Council of State (see next chapter). The Finance Member is in charge of the Budget, or statement of estimated income and expenditure which is laid each year before the Assembly and Council, as we shall see later. He also controls all matters concerning the Public Debt of India, and the Mint where money is coined.

Lastly we come to the Army Department. We have left this to the last because the Commander-in-Chief is considered an "extraordinary" member. He is responsible for the whole military organisation of India, and for the training, organisation, welfare and readiness for war of all forces, British or Indian, in the country.

Two final points should be noted. In the first place the recent reforms have given very much more power and freedom from control to the provincial Governments so that, apart from the Central Subjects, a very large portion of the Executive Councillors' work is more in the nature of giving help and guidance to the officers who are administering their subjects in the Provinces. Secondly the Governor-General, his Executive Councillors and the staff of Secretaries, who work under them, are known collectively as the Government of India.

Diagram 9

EXECUTIVE CHAIN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



CHAPTER XVI

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (*Contd.*);

THE LEGISLATURE

In the days of the Company, laws for India were made entirely by the Governor-General and his Executive Council, who issued such regulations as they thought fit. The British Government interfered very little with this privilege except that in 1833 they added to the Council a Law Member (who as we have seen still exists) to give the Council advice on Law-making. The first change was made in 1853, just before the abolition of the Company. It was decided that to increase the legal knowledge of the Council it should, when engaged in law-making, include the Chief Judge of Bengal and another Judge as well, whilst to keep the Council in touch with opinion in the provinces, each of the 4 Governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Agra should send one member each to be included in the Council on law-making occasions. The Councils Act of 1861, besides as we have seen restoring the provincial Legislative Councils, laid it down that the Viceroy should nominate 6 to 12 additional members to his council, to assist it when engaged in making laws, a member being recommended for nomination by the non-official members of each Provincial Council.

The reforms of 1909 made a considerable difference to the Legislative Council of India.

(1) *History*
1853-1909

(2) **1909**

They provided that the additional members were now to number 60, 33 to be nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council, and 27 elected,

partly by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils, and partly by the Landholders, and other special interests. Just as in the provinces, the power of the Legislative Council was largely increased. It was now allowed to discuss the annual financial statement; all laws were made by it, and it could ask questions from, and submit resolutions to, the Executive Government.

The reforms of 1919 have so completely altered the structure of the Indian Legislature that it is hard to recognise it as the successor of the old council.

(3) **1919**

(a) **Composition**

In the first place, instead of consisting of one body of men it now consists of two—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State is intended to perform the same functions as the House of Lords performs in England, that is to act as a check on the more popularly elected House below it, and to ensure that change shall not be too rapid. It consists of 60 members, 27 nominated by the Viceroy (of whom not more than 20 may be officials) and 33 members elected for wide areas on a high property qualification. For instance, the Punjab has only 1910 electors, and Bombay 2676. The Legislative Assembly consists of 144 members. Of these 41 are nominated, of whom 26 are officials. The elected members are chosen from each province, in proportion to its population, some representation being given in each province to the various classes and interests alluded to in chapter II. The number of voters for the Assembly, while more than that for the Council of State, is less than that for the Provincial Councils. In the Punjab there are 53,000, in Bombay 129,000.

When we considered the functions of Provincial Legislative Councils, we saw that

(b) **Powers** these bodies have two main duties; one their original duty of making laws, the other that of voting on the way in which the income of the Province is to be expended. The same principle applies with certain alterations, to the Legislative Assembly and Council of State. A proposed law may be brought forward in either house, but after it has been approved by one, must also be approved by the other; if they disagree, the Viceroy may refer the matter to a joint sitting of the houses together. But here it should be noticed that there is one part of the reforms which it has not been thought proper to introduce into the Central Government, and that is the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects: consequently, all subjects being reserved, the final power of the Governor-General is absolute. He can prevent a law being even proposed, if in his opinion its introduction would affect the peace or safety of India; he can refuse his assent to a law, even though both houses have passed it; he can refer it for the final approval of the King-Emperor. If the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, or either of them, refuse to pass a law which he wishes to be passed, he can certify it to be essential and it will become law, even though one or both of the houses may have refused to pass it.

In regard to the second function, the Viceroy (represented by the Finance Member) must lay before each House a statement of estimated income and expenditure for the coming year, and the Legislative Assembly has the right to refuse to pass, or to pass in part only, any item of expenditure. Two limits are placed, however, on this power. In the first place the

Governor-General, like a Provincial Governor in regard to reserved subjects, can certify any item as "essential to the discharge of his responsibilities," and carry on as though the item had not been refused; the second limitation is that expenditure on certain subjects may not even be discussed without the Viceroy's permission by either house, such as the salaries and pensions of the Indian Services, which are guaranteed by the British Government, expenses connected with the defence of India, or political expense, *i. e.* such as concerns the Residents and Political Agents. The Viceroy often allows certain of these to be discussed, notably the military budget, but in no case can the Legislative Assembly vote upon them, or reject any part of them. It should also be noted that in no case has the Council of State the right to refuse any grant on whatever subject; this privilege is reserved for the Legislative Assembly alone.

We see then, that though the Legislative Assembly and Council of State have no absolute power, as has been granted in the provinces, to decide anything, yet, as facts have proved, their influence is very great. As they represent the people of all India, it is very hard for the Executive wholly to neglect their advice and as a matter of fact, ever since the Reforms came into force, it has been invariably listened to and frequently followed. In cases which are not concerned with either the passing of a law or the voting of money, the Houses can always express their opinion by a Resolution asking the Government to take such and such action, and individual members can always ask questions regarding the policy of Government. So we see that, though the new Council and Assembly may not have great nominal

power, yet their real importance is very great, and through them the people of India can exercise great influence upon their rulers. The Legislative Assembly and Council of State meet in whatever station the Viceroy may be residing. Generally speaking they will be found at Delhi in the cold weather and Simla in the hot.

There is one other body which, for completeness sake should be mentioned here
The Chamber of Princes. that is the Chamber of Princes or
body of Princes representing the
Ruling Princes and Chiefs, which also meets at Delhi once a year. The powers and importance of this body will be given more fully when we come to consider the territories and powers of various Princes.

CHAPTER XVII

CROWN, PARLIAMENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE

We have now learnt the working of the Indian Government in India, but we must not forget that the ultimate source of the Viceroy's authority is the King-Emperor in England. We will now consider in what ways the authority of the King-Emperor is exercised.

We have already remarked how the King and Parliament of England suddenly realised in the middle of the 18th century that an English Company was acting like a ruler in India, and determined at once to control its power. It was decided by a law passed in 1784 that certain definite people should be appointed to control the company. The result was that a high official of the British Government was appointed with the title of President of the Board of Control, assisted by a Board of six members. More and more power over the Company fell into the Board's hands as time went on, till by 1857 it virtually did all work connected with India.

History
(1) *to 1858*

In 1858, the British Queen assumed direct and sole responsibility for the Government of India, and the Company was abolished. The functions of the President of the Board of Control were transferred to a new Minister who was given the title of Secretary of State for India. The system has changed very little since that time. The main differences made by the recent reforms are that the Secretary of State and his office staff have their salaries

paid by England and not by India; that the control of the Secretary over India in practice is lessened as regards transferred subjects, and even in regard to reserved subjects, in all cases where both the Executive and Legislative Councils of a Province, or the Executive and Legislature of India are in complete agreement.

But even with the limits we described, the power of *Powers of the Secretary of State for India* the Secretary of State for India is still very great. He inherits not only the powers previously possessed by the Board of Control, but those of the Company as well. He advises the King-Emperor on all matters concerning India, and he is responsible to the British Government for the efficient working of the Government of India.

Even so his power also has limits. In the first place, like the Viceroy and the *Its Limits* Governors of Provinces, he also has a Council. The Secretary of State for India himself appoints this Council, but he must observe certain rules. The council must have not more than 12 or less than 8 members. Half of them must have lived in India for at least 10 years, and (1) *the Council of India* must not have been away from India more than five years before they are appointed. They serve for five years. The actual powers of the Council are that a majority of it is necessary to decide certain matters, for instance the dismissal of a Civil, or Military officer, and all rules concerning the I.C.S. examination. On all other matters not specially laid down, the Council can only give advice. But, as the Secretary of State for India, though a prominent person in England, has often no first hand

knowledge of India, it is clear that it is very hard for him to neglect the advice of his Councillors, British and Indian, who know so much more about the subject than he does. The second limitation on the powers of

(2) *King in Parliament* the Secretary is the obvious one that he himself is a servant, not a master. He is appointed to his

office by the King, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and must therefore conform to the general policy of the British Government, and be sure that his actions meet with the approval of Parliament. Parliament does not often interfere with Indian affairs, but it has always the right to do so, and this fact must always be in the mind of any Secretary of State for India who is inclined to make himself a personal ruler of India.

So we see that just as the Viceroy, powerful and important though he is, is limited in his authority by the powers of his Executive Council, and actually controlled in his exercise of them by the Secretary of State, so the Secretary, great though his power may be, is also limited in his exercise of it by his Council, and controlled by the higher authority which he serves. We have now come to the highest authority of all which is known as the King-Emperor in Parliament. The meaning of this expression is that any course of action agreed upon by the House of Commons and House of Lords, and approved by the King-Emperor, is bound to be obeyed. There is no higher power over and above it. And so we find that in regard to India, the King-Emperor in Parliament, though not interfering in details, has made the laws upon which the whole method and course of Government in India is founded. It was the Regulating Act passed in 1773, which first controlled the Company, and established the office of

Governor-General. It was the India Act of 1784, which set up a Board of Control to supervise both the Company and Governor-General alike. It was the India Act of 1858, which abolished the Company, transferred the Government to the Crown, and set up the Secretary of State for India to supervise that Government, on behalf of the Queen. It is by the Government of India Act of 1919 that the reforms in the Government which we have described have been made; and finally, whatever further reforms are made in future will be made by the King-Emperor in Parliament. We shall consider in the next chapter what the nature of further reforms is likely to be, meanwhile all that is necessary to remember is, that the King-Emperor in Parliament is, and will be for many years to come, entirely responsible for the safety and welfare of India, and that all the authorities whose work we have considered, are alike servants of that highest and supreme authority.

CHAPTER XVIII

FUTURE REFORMS, AND QUALITIES NECESSARY TO OBTAIN THEM

It is stated in the Government of India Act, by which the reforms which we have been considering were made, that at the expiration of 10 years after the passing of this act the Secretary of State, with the agreement of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit to His Majesty for approval the names of persons to act as a Commission whose duty will be to report to what extent it is desirable to extend, modify or restrict the reforms that have been made. From this we gather that the reforms are not considered as final or complete, and that something further is hoped for: what this is cannot be expressed better than by quoting the words used by the King-Emperor himself in giving assent to the Act. He said:—"The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders; the burden is too heavy to be borne in full, till time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow, and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment." India has hitherto been governed in such a way that, although hundreds and thousands of Indians have taken, and are taking part in the work of Government, the ultimate responsibility has always laid with the British Governors, Governor-Generals, Secretaries of State, Parliaments and Sovereigns. We will now in imagination describe what may be the future of India, if all goes well and everyone does his duty.

At the end of ten years the commission above referred to will examine the situation, and if it finds that the Transferred Subjects have been well administered it will recommend, and the King-Emperor in Parliament will probably grant, that more subjects are to be transferred from Executive Councils to Ministers; the Executive Councillors formerly responsible for that section of the work will cease to exist, and Ministers will be appointed to do the work formerly done by them; those subjects will be transferred from the left to the right side of the picture (see diagrams 6 and 7).

If later on, it is found that these subjects also have been well and efficiently managed, the final step as regards the Provinces will be that the King-Emperor in Parliament will grant Full Responsible Government to the Provinces. This will mean that all Reserved Subjects will disappear, and no more Executive Councillors will be appointed. The Governor will select from among his Legislative Council a man whom he considers to be capable of conducting the Government and who possesses the confidence of that Council. He will appoint his Prime Minister, as the King-Emperor does in England, and charge him with the duty of forming a Ministry. The Prime Minister will then select his Ministers to deal with various subjects, and the Ministry thus formed will carry on work in the same way as the Executive Councils do at present—with this difference; that as all subjects will then have been transferred, if the Legislative Council comes to dislike the policy of the Prime Minister, it will be able to obstruct him so

much that he will find his position impossible, and he will have to go to the Governor and resign. The Governor will then call upon another man whom he knows to be more acceptable to the Council, and he will form another Ministry. This is called "Responsible Government", because the Legislative Councillors have been chosen by the people of the province, and if they obstruct good Ministers and support bad ones, it is the people's fault, and they will only have themselves to blame for choosing bad Councillors. If the people realise their responsibilities they will, at the next elections, turn out those bad Councillors, and choose better men, who will support a good Prime Minister. In other words under a system of Responsible Government it has been well said that "the people get the Government which they deserve."

After responsible Government has been established in the Provinces, the next stage will probably be in the direction of an alteration in the Government of India. The first step will perhaps, as in the provinces at present, be made by the transfer of certain subjects from Executive Councillors to Ministers, and at the same time it is probable that the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India, and that of the Government of India over the Provinces will be growing proportionately less.

The last and the final stage, when the people have been completely trained in self-Government, will be when the last of the reserved subjects in the Government of India will disappear. The Secretary of State's control will then (except probably in matters con-

(3) *Transferred
Subjects in
Central Govt.*

(4) *Dominion
Government*

cerning the common defence of all India, and other affairs which concern the Princes, as well as the Provinces) be withdrawn from the Government of India, and the Government of India, now carried on by a Prime Minister and Ministers possessing the confidence of the Assembly and Council of State, will itself only manage the Central Subjects, and allow the Provincial Governments to carry on their internal government on their own lines.

We all know that in the army, before a man is allowed to assume responsibility, he has to prove his fitness for it. A man will not be made an Instructor of Musketry or Physical Training until and unless he has passed with credit through a severe course of training in those subjects. Promotion is always dependent on fitness, however senior a man may be. Even the Senior Major of your regiment cannot obtain the Command until he has passed successfully through the Senior Officers' School. And so we ought to consider carefully what qualities must be developed and proved before full responsible Government can be, without danger, established in this country.

In chapter 14 section 3, we discussed the duties of a voter in the provinces, and we made it clear that the voters must be brought to understand the value of the vote, and the responsibility attached to it. This, it is quite easy to see, is the most important quality required if the present reforms are to be successful, and are to be in time carried further. If the ordinary voter cannot be induced to take any interest in the elections, and either fails to use his

**Qualities
necessary for
attainment of
Representative
Government
(1) Voting
Intelligently**

vote or sells it to whichever candidate will give him the greatest number of rupees for it, then the elections will be a failure, the men elected will represent nobody, and a Legislative Council, when it approves or rejects Ministers and their proposals, will not have any real authority derived from the people. If this state of things, a good deal of which was noticeable at the last elections in certain districts, does not improve, it will only be made clear that the people are unfit for representative Government, and no further reforms will be made. But, more than this, voters for the Legislative Assembly must display even more intelligence than those voting for their Provincial Council. They have to realise that it is not enough to vote for a man who will stick up for the interests of their own class and district, but they must vote for a man who will represent the best interests of India as a whole, otherwise the Assembly, instead of acting for all India will merely consist of a number of men each fighting to get privileges for their own province and district. Whatever happens to the reforms in the Provinces, it is clear that a feeling of regard for the common interests of India— or Patriotism as it is called— must be developed, otherwise it will be impossible to choose Legislative Assemblies who will act for the common welfare of all India.

If a man, 6 months after joining the army, asked to see his Commanding Officer, and
 (2) *Patience* said "I have passed successfully through my recruit course; will you please get me a Subedar's commission," we know how his comrades would laugh at him, and call him a fool, for thinking he knew all about military matters before he had really begun to learn them. But men are doing just the same in India, and people take them quite seriously,

when it comes to the question of Government. It is quite a common view that the art of governing is different from all others, and requires no training, whereas in reality it is most difficult, and requires 'much practice. It is hard to understand the minds of those men who tell us that complete self-government should be given at once. Not one of them has ever governed anybody for a day in his life, and yet they go about saying to the Viceroy and the British Government that the Government should be handed over to them at once, and, failing that, they will refuse to co-operate at all, or have anything to do with the work of Government, and will try to persuade men not to vote, or perform any of their civic duties. But apart from these men, who, though they are doing much harm, cannot, from the point of view of Citizenship, be taken seriously, there are a great many men who are good citizens themselves, and feel that the process of attaining to responsible government could be carried out rather quicker than is intended. To them we can say that they do not perhaps realise how very little the average ordinary man knows about the reforms or has any idea of his duties as a citizen ; until he does so, those of us who do understand and appreciate our duties as citizens must be patient, and wait for further reforms until it is perfectly certain that the majority of the people are trained in the duties of citizenship up to a point when further reforms can safely be attempted.

In chapter 7, section 2, we have considered how, in the Army, 3 or 4 classes of men live together in a regiment, and no trouble will occur ; each class will respect the religious customs and observances of the others ; we then discussed how necessary the quality of toleration was in the life of the Village and District.

The same quality is necessary to a still greater degree when the proper working of the new reforms, and the possibility of their extension, is considered. In every province, in every Legislative Council, and still more in the Legislative Assembly which is elected from all over India, many classes and customs are represented and it is above all necessary that these classes should learn to sink their differences for the common good, and realise that the customs, religious and political, of other people must be respected.

This principle becomes even more important when certain persons, in order to force their own ideas upon others, break the law and indulge in brawling and violence. Under representative government, all men have a say, through the men they elect, in the making of the law; but once a law is made, it must be obeyed even by those who opposed the making of it. Old laws, however much we object to them, must be obeyed, until they are repealed by the Legislative Council or Assembly; and in no case, whatever our views may be regarding the law on any subject, have we the right to use violence to try to get our way. If the majority of the people of our country agree with us that a certain law is bad, there is very little doubt that if we have patience that law will sooner or later be changed. If we are opposed to the opinion of the majority, we have no right to demand anything; we can only request the majority to consider our views, and of course any attempt by violent means to frighten other people into adopting our side is the worst form of bad citizenship.

And so our final conclusion on the future of reform in India is that it is entirely in the hands of the Indian

people themselves. We in the Army can never forget that promotion must of necessity be slow, and that greater responsibility can only be the result of greater experience: it is the same with the art of governing. Furthermore without mutual toleration, unswerving respect for law and order, and willingness to give way to the opinions of the majority, any further advance in the direction of responsible Government will be dangerous and impossible, and India will stand before the world as a country unable to govern herself and unwilling to learn. If on the other hand, the teachings of good citizenship are followed, and every man does his duty as he should, the future of India is bound to be placed more and more in her own hands, until finally full responsible government is established. It is the duty of every soldier on leave and every pensioner who goes back to his native village to try his best to make his fellow villagers understand and realise the importance of these questions, and spread abroad the principles of good citizenship, upon which the future of India so very greatly depends.

PART IV

CHAPTER XIX

THE RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS OF INDIA

As we observed in the rapid summary which we made (in Chapter 8 above) of the parts into which India is divided, besides those territories directly ruled by the Government of India, and those under the control of Provincial Governments, there are also large tracts of territory which are administered, under the general supervision of the Supreme Government, by those hereditary rulers who are known as the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India. Apart from this general supervision exercised by the Governor-General or, as we shall see below, in certain cases by the Governors of Provinces acting on his behalf, these Princes and Chiefs have no connection with either the Central or Provincial Governments. They have no representatives in either Executive or Legislative Councils, and these Councils exercise no authority over them. It should therefore be clearly realised that the recent reforms in British India, and any changes these reforms have brought about in the system of Government, Central or Provincial, in no way affect these Princes and Chiefs, and do not concern them. It should be always borne in mind that whatever changes and reforms are made in the administration of Indian States are entirely the work of the Ruler concerned, and of no one else.

The relationship of the States to the Governor-General, as the representative in India of the King-Emperor, is maintained in three different ways. Certain

of the larger States are in what is called direct and separate relationship: that is to say a British Resident is stationed at the capital of the State, and through him the Ruler transacts with the Viceroy all necessary business.

States

(1) *In direct and separate relationship*

Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir and Gwalior possess this relationship, as does also the Himalayan State of Sikkim, though the latter cannot perhaps be strictly described as one of the States of India.

Other states, while possessing no separate relationship, are yet in direct relations with the Viceroy. They are grouped together in what are known as Agencies: with each Agency there is a representative of the Viceroy in the person of the Agent to the Governor-General (A. G. G.).

There are four main Agencies. The first is known as the Central India Agency, and consists of 100 States situated in the area between the Central and United Provinces. The names of all these cannot possibly be enumerated, but the most important are Indore and Bhopal. The A. G. G. for this agency is stationed at Indore.

(a) *Central India*

The second group, under an A. G. G. with his headquarters at Ajmere and Mount Abu, is known as the Rajputana Agency, and consists of 21 States, prominent among which are Udaipur, Jaipur and Jodhpur, each of which has a Resident attached to it. It might be noted that the Alwar, Bikanir, Jhalawar and Sirohi States are now in direct relations through this agency.

(b) *Rajputana*

The administration of Baluchistan is peculiar. Part of it is British India, and, like the

(c) *Baluchistan* North-West Frontier Province, administered by a Chief Commissioner. But there are also States, of which Kalat is the most important, and for all purposes connected with them the Chief Commissioner acts as A.G.G.

Thirteen States in the Punjab have recently been placed in direct relationship with

(d) *Punjab* the Governor-General. The officer who maintains these relations is known as the A.G.G. Punjab States and is stationed at Lahore.

Rampur, Tehri and Benares are also in direct relations with the Governor-General

(e) *United Provinces* through the Governor of the United Provinces acting as A.G.G.

But by far the greater number of Indian States are not in direct relations with the

(3) *In relationship with Provincial Government* Governor-General, but with the Governor of that Province to which their territories are adjacent. These States, though the system varies

to some extent in different Provinces, can roughly be divided into two groups. In the first place there are those in direct relations, either separately or in groups, with the Governor, represented by a Political Agent: in others the duties of agent are carried out by the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, or Collector to whose division or district the territory of the State is adjacent. There is no need to go into further detail except to notice the names of the better known states, and the numbers in relationship with each Province. From this point of view Bombay is the most

important Province. In relations with it are no less than 354 States, of which three only, Kolhapur and Savantvadi in the South and Cutch in the North, have separate Political Agents. Madras has within its borders only 5 States, including the well-known States of Travancore and Cochin. Bengal includes only 2 States of importance—Cooch Behar and Tripura: Manipur is the only State in Assam. Behar and Orissa contains 26 States, the Central Provinces 15 and the Punjab 20, all of minor importance.

It is easily perceived that the relationship in which the Princes and Chiefs stand to the Governor-General confers upon them substantial rights and privileges, and carries with it corresponding obligations. The rights and privileges of the Princes and Chiefs have not of course been conferred upon them by the King-Emperor or his Viceroys: they are inherent in their position. What the paramount power has done is to guarantee to the Rulers, by treaty and usage, those powers which, as rulers, they naturally possess. They are secure in the knowledge that their territory will not be taken from them, and can be safely bequeathed by them to their heirs, natural or adopted. The management of their internal affairs is assured to them with the minimum of interference: and they enjoy, in common with all other parts of the Empire, the armed support of the Empire's forces to defend them against external attack. In return for these benefits every Ruling Prince and Chief is expected to pay respectful attention to the wishes of the King-Emperor as expressed by his representative, Resident, Political Agent or Provincial Governor, and is expected to govern with due regard to those wishes: while he maintains in many cases State Forces not only to preserve internal

order, but also in order to be able to contribute, in time of need, to the defence of the Empire when called upon to do so.

The general principle upon which the government of an Indian State is carried on is very simple. It is based, both in theory and in fact, upon the absolute and unchecked supremacy of the Ruler, in so far as supervision is not exercised by the Viceroy and his representatives. The executive government is not, as a rule, carried out by the Ruler himself (though he of course supervises what is done in his name). The actual administration is generally in the hands of a minister called the Diwan, Wazir or other equivalent title. Some of the more advanced States have taken the system of government as it exists in British India as their model, with of course obvious differences. An Executive Council, for instance, exists in Hyderabad, Kashmir and Mysore. Divisions, Districts and High Courts are often found, and a Civil Service nominated by the State Government without examination carries out the orders and instructions of the Darbar. Some rulers have gone further and set up representative bodies as well. Legislative Councils exist in Mysore and Travancore, but of a purely advisory character. They have practically no power of law-making, and their influence on the actions of the Ruler is probably not very great. In the smaller States Government is often conducted on more old-fashioned and simple lines, but even in these a tendency to adopt modern methods of administration is becoming increasingly noticeable.

We have now considered what the Indian States are, what is their relation to the Governor-General, and what

are their methods of Government. It only remains to note by what methods they can take counsel with each other and the Viceroy, and consult concerning matters of common interest to them all.

When the recent reforms in the British India were under discussion, It was felt that *Chamber of Princes* the Princes ought to have some more definite means of bringing their views before the Viceroy. To assemble all Ruling Princes and Chiefs together in one place would be impossible ; the separate requests of individual Rulers cannot carry much weight ; and so it was decided to introduce the principle of representation. All Rulers who enjoy hereditary salutes of 9 guns or more are members of the Chamber of Princes, as it is called, in their own right. The lesser Rulers are divided into groups. These groups choose representatives to act on their own behalf, and the Chamber thus constituted meets every year at Delhi under the presidency of the Viceroy. It should hardly be necessary to state that the Chamber of Princes is purely advisory ; it cannot issue orders to any Ruler. But it enables the Viceroy to find out what the general opinion of the Princes may be on any particular subject, and in it the Princes can hear each others views, and bring collective, and therefore more powerful, expression of these views before the Viceroy. This chapter cannot better be concluded than by quoting the words used by the King-Emperor when he proclaimed the establishment of the Chamber of Princes, as showing the attitude of the King-Emperor and his Government to the Princes and Chiefs, and the object of the Chamber. "I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsels may be fruitful of

lasting good to the Princes and States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and British India, and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights and dignities."

CHAPTER XX

PROTECTION—INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL

Up to now we have been considering chiefly the manner in which our life is organised, the ways in which we govern ourselves in India, and the ways in which we are governed by the servants of Government—the men whose whole duty in life is to carry out the arrangements made for our well-being and comfort. It will now be useful if for a few chapters we consider the various ways in which this organised government is useful to us. At the very beginning of this book we considered the reasons why a man would prefer to live in a village rather than alone on a hill-side; so in the same way we will now consider why it is better to live under a properly organised Government as we do in India, than under a Government which is not so organised.

One of the chief benefits we obtain from organised Government is protection, both from
(1) *Internal* people and things within the
Protection borders of India, and from those
(a) *Life and Limb* which lie outside her boundaries.

To take Internal Protection first.

We saw, in Chapter 3 how one of the principal duties of a Lambardar and his Chowkidar was the preservation of order, and reporting of all crimes to the Thana, or Police-station. The organisation of the police has all been made for the same purpose. Men who commit murders and crimes of violence are, as a rule, restrained by fear and nothing else, and it is their fear of the police who may catch them, law courts which

may condemn them, and prisons in which they may be confined for long periods, which enables us to feel fairly secure from murderers and those who commit violent crime. But Governments have not to think of human beings as the only agencies from which the bodies of citizens have to be protected. Disease and bad sanitation (as we shall see in a later Chapter) are two of the worst enemies of our bodies, and those in authority must take all necessary measures for our protection against them. Again, whenever a man leaves his house, in these days of rapid traffic, he is in considerable bodily danger, from which it is one of the duties of Government to protect him.

And so we find protective regulations made everywhere. For instance, motor-cars are forbidden to go more than a certain speed in narrow and crowded streets, wherever a road crosses a railway we find, in the case of more important roads, that a bridge is made above or below the railway, or in the case of a less important road, a level crossing is made, fitted with gates, which are shut when a train approaches, and so prevent men and animals from being run over. Further in order to prevent accidents at night, the streets of big towns are lighted and all carts, motor-cars etc., are obliged to be fitted with lighted lamps, so that people may have due warning of their approach.

The organisation of Government not only protects our lives from death and our bodies from injury; but it is also one of its most important functions to protect our property. First of all our property is protected from obvious attack in the same way as our lives and bodies, by the organisation of the police to find out crimes of theft, and law

courts and jails to punish them. But we all know that dishonest men often attempt to get hold of the property of others not only by open theft but also by fraud. And so to give one instance only our property rights are protected by the records in the Patwari's* office, and by the surveys of our land that take place at frequent intervals.

Similarly, too, Government's duty is to protect the customs and religion of every inhabitant of this country so long as those customs do not conflict with the rights of others. If every man in India observed the principle of Toleration, the necessity of which we have already discussed, this protection would not be needed; but as things are, it is very necessary indeed. Government has to lay down by its laws that the exercise of his religion, and the practice of his customs are the right of every man; and having laid down the law it must see to it that the law is observed. The police, who as we have seen are the instruments Government mainly uses for our protection, are here again most essential. They have to protect men who are carrying out the exercise of their religion and customs, and have to arrest and bring up to justice all those who attempt to interfere with them. And so we see that a good Government is one which protects us from all persons and things which may harm or hurt our lives, our bodies, our property and our religion or customs. But it is quite obvious that however perfectly we may be protected from all harmful people and things in India it is quite useless if foreigners can come in from outside and hurt us. And so we come to the second part of protection—External Protection.

* See Chapter 26.

If we consider the map of India, we notice that on the North it is protected by the high ranges of the Himalayas. The immense height of these mountains, and the fact that even the passes over them are so high and so cold that no army could get over them without great danger, makes the threat to India from the North very slight. On the East, too, an army endeavouring to invade India through North Burma would find the jungles and swamps of Assam an almost impassible barrier. And so we come to see that India can only be attacked (with reasonable hope of success) in two ways; the enemy must either come from the West, South or South-East over the sea, and land on the coast of India, or else he must try to force his way in on the North-West, where the mountains, though quite a formidable obstacle, are yet neither so high nor so impracticable as the Himalayas. History teaches us that every attack on India of any importance has come through one of these routes. The sea route brought the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British; it was by the North-West route that the original Aryans, Alexander the Great and all the Mussalman conquerors of India came. And so we realise that it is the duty of Government to guard against the danger of attack upon India, by closing these two doors.

The danger of an attack upon India by sea is one which is kept from us by a force to which India does not contribute;

(a) *Navy* the Royal Navy. The East India squadron which cruises continually round our shores prevents any foreign power from getting "command" of the sea in the East, and so becoming in the position of being able to organise an attack on India. Some of us will remember the only

time during the Great War when an attack by sea was actually made on India; how the German warship "Emden" came and threw shells on Madras. At the beginning of the War there were many German warships in the East; and if it had not been for the skill and energy of the British Navy, much damage might have been done, especially to the sea coast towns of India. And so we see that the help of the British Navy is one of the benefits we obtain from living under an organised Government—that a force in which there are no Indians at all is actually present to protect our shores.

When we come to consider how Government fulfils its duty of guarding India from
 (b) *Army* attack by land (which as we have seen really means guarding the North-West Frontier) we come to that part of its duty which Government entrusts to us. The duty laid upon us of the Indian Army is to protect the 32 crores of people who inhabit India from any enemy who may wish to inflict injury upon them.

The numbers of the Army called upon to fulfil this task vary from time to time. During the great war, the Indian Army was called upon to do so much above and beyond the task of defending India, that its numbers were very largely increased; and even now, although many regiments have been disbanded, the army has not yet got back to its normal figures. If the numbers which were customary before the war are again made the regulation, we shall probably find that the Indian Army will consist roughly of about 150,000 Indian Troops.

The way in which the army is distributed over India is interesting. The Northern Command contains no less than 17 Brigades, and the Western Command 8 Brigades,

whilst the Eastern Command possesses 7 Brigades altogether, and the Southern (even if we include Burma which does not really belong to it) can only muster 6 Brigades. Thus we see that the Government has concentrated nearly all the troops it possesses on the North and the West, because it realises that it is from that side alone that India is exposed to attack. The question may perhaps be asked, why, if the exclusive object of the Army is the defence of India, and if attack can only come from the North-West, there are any troops stationed in other parts of India, and why an army organisation is necessary except in the North-West. The answer to this is twofold. In the first place, though the operations of the army are mainly on the North-West, the army is recruited from all over India. It is therefore necessary to have troops in all districts, not only to provide organisation for the actual recruiting, but also in order that the population of these regions may see the army sometimes, and not lose entire touch with it, which would probably be very bad for recruiting. In the second place, although the Police, as we have already mentioned earlier in this chapter, are primarily responsible for preserving order and internal protection generally, yet occasions may arise (and do arise, not only in India, but in England, France and all countries in the world) when the situation may get beyond the power of the police to deal with. In order to cope with such situations there must always be a certain number of troops within call in all parts of the country. Such occasions arise not only in cases of mere rioting (as recently in Bombay and Multan) but may take the form of organised revolt, such as the rising in the Moplah territory. We can readily understand how very much more serious that revolt would have been if at the time

of its outbreak there had been no troops in the Madras Presidency. No soldier in any country likes to be called out to quell civil disturbances, but we must all remember that it is our duty to do so. Our main duty, it is true, is to protect India against foes from outside, but we cannot, if called upon to protect her inhabitants from internal strife, refuse to do so, and should do our duty in this as in all other matters in the same spirit of willingness.

Of recent years, the art of war has made many very great advances, but none of
 (c) *The Air Force* greater importance than the invention which enables a man to fly over the lines of the enemy, observe and report all his movements, and, if required, drop bombs upon him. So important has this part of warfare become that it has become a separate service, apart from both the Navy and the Army, though of course it works in close co-operation with the other services. Squadrons of the Air Force are now allotted to India, and have already done great service on the North-West Frontier. The Air Force may be a very recent introduction, but, for all that, it is by no means the least of the branches of protection we get from living under an organised Government.

Much criticism is levied in India now-a-days on the fighting forces in India. It is said that the army is too expensive; that the 61 crores annually spent on it could well be diverted to other purposes of more value to the people, and so on. It would be well for such people to remember that if the Frontier were not defended, there would be no life at all for the rest of the community to lead. Any of you who have been to France during the war, and seen the dreadful state of the

country as a result of the German invasions—the villages in ruins, and the country so shattered that it will take it years and years to recover, will realise what might be the fate of India, and especially of those parts within easy reach of the Frontier, if the army was not there to keep enemies from ruining and wasting our land. It is a long time now since India has been invaded, and men have forgotten what invasions are like. They have only to read the past history of India, and they will soon realise that money spent on the army is well spent if it can save our country from the horrors endured by India from foreign invaders in the old days.

CHAPTER XXI

COMMUNICATIONS

The great Indian Army soldier Lord Roberts, who spent 41 years in this country, tells us that when he first came out in 1852, it took him over 2 months to get from Calcutta to Peshawar. Another well-known Englishman tells us that when he went from Calcutta to Agra in 1844, the journey took him a full three weeks. Earlier still, we find that the chief difficulty which confronted the Mogul Emperors was the slowness of communication. Akbar or Aurangzeb would be at one end of India when a message would arrive informing him of a revolt at the other. The Emperor would be in Gujarat when a message would call him away to deal with trouble from the Kabul side ; hardly had he reached the North-West when he would hear of trouble in the Ganges valley. We hear of Akbar on one occasion riding from Agra to Ahmedabad in what was in those days the wonderfully quick time of eleven days, and by that means surprising his enemies. The result was that the Empire could only be held together by men of terrific energy, who could rush from one end of the country to the other, dealing with every situation on the spot. There is not much doubt that the later years of Aurangzeb, being spent almost exclusively in an attempt to subdue the Mahrattas, largely weakened his hold on the rest of his dominions, and when, on his death, a succession of weak Emperors followed, the Empire broke up with surprising speed.

These considerations were always present in the minds of the Governors-General of India from the

Communications first moment when the British Company began to acquire dominion over large tracts of India ; but the first of them really to face the question was a Governor-General whose name we have already mentioned—Lord Dalhousie. He realised that to govern successfully a territory of the size to which the Company's dominions had grown, good communication was essential. He therefore decided to tackle at once the question of roads. Such roads as existed were purely for military purposes, and the management of them was in the hands of a Military Board which constructed very few new works. Dalhousie abolished the Board, and in its place established a Public Works Department in each province in 1854. From this time onwards, the process of covering India with a system of good roads has never stopped. The most famous of all Indian Roads, the Grand Trunk Road which goes all the way from Calcutta to Peshawar, was planned in Dalhousie's time.

About the same time, Lord Dalhousie, who had been, as a member of the British Government before he came to India, largely concerned with railway matters in England, decided that efforts must be made to start a railway system in India. He laid before the Directors of the Company in 1853 a project for lines from Calcutta to Lahore, from Agra (or some other point on the Calcutta-Lahore line) to Bombay ; and from Bombay to Madras. This was approved, and work began very shortly after. The method by which the principal railways of India were built is interesting. Government gave the Companies who built the lines the land free of charge, and guaranteed that the shareholders of the Companies

should always have some interest on their money; in return for these privileges, Government has a large measure of control over them, and the appointment of the higher railway officials must be approved by Government. In 1905 this control was put into the hands of a Railway Board containing men of knowledge and experience in railway matters, in whose hands the full control of railway matters now rests. Looking at a railway map of India to-day, we find how great has been the extension of Dalhousie's original scheme. There are two routes now from Bombay to Delhi, and a direct line along the East coast from Madras to Calcutta. Lines now run beyond Lahore right up to the Frontier, and Lahore is connected with the sea by a line running right down to Karachi with a branch up to Quetta. Narrow-gauge lines extend like a net work over the whole of the interior of the country.

Lord Dalhousie was not satisfied merely with putting in hand the construction of roads and railways; he also perceived that it was essential to the progress of India to improve the system of communication in regard to the conveyance of letters and messages from one part of the country to another. Up to this time it had been very difficult to get a letter from one part of India to another; the Government had prohibited private letter-carrying, and at the same time, owing to the heavy charges and the corruption of officials the Post Office was too expensive for most people to use. Dalhousie swept the whole system away, and using as his model the system which had recently been established in England, laid down that any letter not exceeding half a tola in weight should be carried from any part of India to any other for half an anna. The result of Dalhousie's

(3) *Posts and
Telegraphs*

reforms was that whereas in 1854 scarcely two crores of letters were posted in India, in 1860 the number had risen to nearly 5 crores, in 1895 to 36 crores and in 1920, including parcels and money orders, to 136 crores. The telegraph system also dates from Dalhousie's time. In spite of what were considered almost insuperable difficulties of climate, in the then condition of electrical knowledge, the first lines had already been laid before he left India in 1856. We know how the news of the outbreak of the Mutiny was flashed from Delhi to Calcutta and the Punjab by a brave operator who just managed to get the message through before the mutineers burst into his office.

The modern invention of telegraphing without wires has become familiar to many of us because of its usefulness to ships at sea; you cannot connect a moving ship to the land by a wire, but by means of the wireless apparatus it can be kept in close touch with the shore and with other ships: this is a great advantage to sailors whether in time of peace or war. One advantage of the wireless system is, apart from other considerations, that it relieves the strain on the ordinary telegraphs at a time when many messages are being sent.

(4) *Wireless, Telephones and Airships*

A telephone system is in one way superior to a telegraph because not only can a message be sent, but an answer can be given at once, and a sustained conversation or argument carried on. The telephone is not as common in India as in Europe, but its use is steadily increasing, especially in the big towns, and as time goes on there is no doubt that it will be much more extensively installed and used.

Lastly we may mention the air service, because at the present moment it is much more important as a means of transporting messages than people. Until the aeroplane is able to carry much heavier loads, it will never become a cheap or popular way of transporting people in large numbers or merchandize. But if the telegraph wire is cut, and the wireless is out of order, the aeroplane can carry a message with greater speed and security, especially in time of war, or riot, than a train or motor-car. With the motor-car itself we have not dealt, because its use in the first place is still beyond the reach of the poor man's purse and, secondly because it is not, except in certain localities where it carries the mails, a form of transport with which the Government in its civil capacity is much concerned.

Before closing this chapter, it may perhaps be worth while to summarize the benefits that are obtained from all the means of communication which we have been engaged in considering. In the first place, trade benefits greatly by good communications. Merchants are not confined to their own particular area, but can take their products wherever they can sell them, and wherever they know there is a demand for them. Similarly, if we have need of anything, we are not bound to get it from a shop in our own village or town, where it may be badly made or expensive, but can get it by writing a letter to some other part of the country where it may be well-made and cheaper. In time of scarcity this becomes of great importance. In the old days, if the rains failed in any particular area, and the crops were ruined, that part of the country was in great danger; now all that has to be done is for Government

Benefits to
(1) *trade*

to give orders, and food and other supplies can be hurried to that district from all over India.

In our general life, too, good communications are of the greatest comfort, especially to those of us who are in the Army. We are often compelled to live very far away from our homes, but even so, by writing letters which are quickly despatched to any part of India and can be quickly answered, we can keep in touch with all the affairs of our family. If any trouble occurs in our family, sickness, death or anything of that kind, a telegram will let us know in a few hours what is the matter, and if the trouble is sufficiently serious to admit of our getting leave, we are taken to our homes by fast trains. In the old days, news could perhaps not have reached us for several weeks, and "special leave" would have been absolutely impossible.

The advantages of good communication to the Government and its officials are almost too obvious and numerous to require mention. We can only wonder how Government in the past carried on without it. To take just a few instances; when the Moplah revolt broke out, the Government of India were naturally anxious to see for themselves what was happening and how the Madras Government were dealing with the various difficulties involved. In the old days, it would have taken weeks and weeks for any one to get from Simla to Malabar; but as we read in the newspapers, the Home Member was able to get there in a few days only. The Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners instead of having to make slow and tiring journeys on horseback can now get round large

(2) *Social Life*

(3) *Internal Government and Protection*

portions of their Divisions and Districts on fast trains, and in speedy motor-cars. The Viceroy, Members of Council, and Provincial Governments can see much more for themselves, owing to easier travelling, and, by means of the telegraph, can get speedy intelligence of all that is going on, while the various officers of a Government can keep in touch with each other with ease and speed by means of the telephone. When part of the Army Headquarters is at Delhi, and part at Simla, there is a special telephone between the two towns, and one section can communicate with the other in a few seconds. These are just a few instances to show how essential these communications are to the internal Government of a country.

In external protection, too, they are equally invaluable. Any soldier who has been on field service understands or should understand that efficient communication is absolutely essential for the success of any military operations. Modern armies are so much greater in size and so much more complicated in their organization than those of the old days, that it is only by an efficient service of Telegraphs and Despatch Riders on motor-bicycles that the General in supreme command can keep in touch with all his army, obtain rapid information from his subordinate commanders, and get his orders communicated to them with the necessary speed. Furthermore, if the commander wishes to shift his headquarters rapidly (as was done by Lord Allenby in the final campaign in Palestine) or if it is required to communicate with a besieged garrison, wireless telegraphy is highly useful, while aeroplanes are essential to locate the enemy's position

and discover his movements. Finally, in order that the commanders' arrangements may be carried out rapidly, all forms of transport, road, rail, and motor, must be operated with the greatest possible speed and efficiency, so that the troops, and their ammunition and supplies, may be brought to their allotted positions at the required moment without fail

Thus we see that from every point of view, whether that of trade, ordinary social intercourse, internal Government or military operations in the field, the maintenance of an efficient system of communications is one of the essential duties of an organised Government, and one of the greatest benefits gained by living under such a Government.

CHAPTER XXII

AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND FORESTS

There can be scarcely any subject of more vital and practical interest to the Indian Army than that of Agriculture, seeing that the majority of that army are from the cultivating class, and when their service is over, they will return to their villages and be agriculturists themselves. In this chapter, however, we are not considering the subject of Agriculture in general, but only that part of it which is concerned with Government—to see what benefits the agriculture of India derives from the fact that we live under an organised Government.

There is in each province a Department of Agriculture which it is interesting to note is now a transferred subject, and under the control of a Minister. There is also an Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India who gives advice and assistance to the Provincial Officers. The Government of India maintains, at Pusa in Behar, an institute which carries out experiments and research in all matters of agricultural interest; while each province maintains an Agricultural College to encourage the proper study of agriculture, and work out problems connected with the particular productions of the province. It is worth noting that the Bombay College, situated at Poona, is the best known and most patronised of these colleges, and it supervises more or less the work of six vernacular agricultural Schools. In the Punjab, the Lyallpur College and the Jullundur demonstration farm are engaged upon the same work, which is to try and get the agriculturist interested in modern methods of agriculture in the hope than he will

adopt them, and thus increase the output of his land, and get a better quality of crop.

The methods by which the Agricultural Departments of India, and the institutions which they control are endeavouring to improve the agriculture of the country take roughly 4 different forms. The first of these is the study of plant-breeding, with the object of producing and issuing to the cultivators improved seed with greater productive power, of better quality, and of greater immunity from disease. This has already been done with considerable success in Bengal, Madras and Burma with rice. In Burma it was found that one variety of Government seed produced, from every acre of land, 400 to 500 pounds more than the best local seed. It is not surprising that the demand for this seed is far greater than the supply. As regards wheat, it has been found that both in the United Provinces and the Punjab, wherever the strains of wheat that have been produced at Pusa have been introduced, the value of the crop works out to an average of 8 to 10 rupees an acre more than the ordinary varieties. Similar results are found to have been obtained as regards sugar-cane, cotton, jute, indigo, tobacco and oil seeds. The operations of Government in this respect are only limited by the amount of money available, which is not great. If it were not for want of money, many more useful centres of research could be established.

The second method by which Government endeavours to carry out investigations which will be of use to agriculture is by means of soil surveys; that is

(2) Study of soil

to say, the soil of every part of a Province is examined, and endeavours are made to discover and bring to the notice of the cultivators a knowledge in the first place of what type of manure will give the best results in different districts and for different purposes, secondly as to what crops are most suitable for different localities, and also as to what methods should be adopted to enable the soil to recover from the exhausting effects which certain kinds of crops impose upon it.

Government research is also especially directed to what may be described as the
 (3) *Study of* medical side of agriculture—to
pests and discover what are the reasons
diseases which make plants unhealthy, and
 cause them to die. And so investigations are conducted and experiments made to discover how insect pests which afflict crops such as rice, cotton and sugar-cane can be destroyed, and how the various diseases which affect plant life can be eliminated and cured. This work is skilled, difficult and expensive (as anyone who has watched it going on fully realises) and it is difficult often to convince the cultivators of the importance of the precautions recommended; but there can be no doubt at all as to how great would be the difference in the quality and amount of the crops of India if these pests and diseases could be eliminated.

In a country such as India, where so much of the work of agriculture is done with
 (4) *Cattle* the aid of oxen and buffaloes, the
Breeding question of cattle-breeding cannot
 but be a matter of very great importance. When it is realised that there are roughly 14 crores of these animals in India, it will be understood that Government

ought to take some interest in their breeding, and keeping up their numbers. The measures taken to help cattle breeding are, in the first place, that the Agricultural Departments, in co-operation with the Military Dairy Farms, are trying to breed cows which will give a higher yield of milk; the idea of this is that if cows in general produce more milk, cattle breeding will become more profitable, and therefore more popular, with a resulting increase in the number of cattle in India. The second measure is to increase the number of Veterinary Hospitals and Dispensaries, and try to get the agriculturalists to have real faith in the efficacy of veterinary measures; to exercise some measure of control over markets and fairs, so that diseased animals may not be a source of infection to others, and to try and induce the agriculturalists in general to realise the importance and preventability of most animal diseases.

But perhaps the greatest hindrance to the advancement of agriculture in India is lack of capital. Land in this country is held by small owners, and we do not often find, as in America, that large tracts of land, bringing in very great sums of money, are in the hands of one man. But on the other hand whether a man's property is large or small, it requires money to be spent upon it; and the greatest difficulty which faces the average Zemindar is that of finding ready money for necessary expenditure. With this view the Co-operative Societies have been founded, under the supervision of Government, all over India. The idea is that the Zemindars, while retaining their full liberty as separate owners

(5) *Direct
assistance
to Farmers*

(a) *Co-operative
Societies*

of land, can. by organising themselves into Societies to which all subscribe, be able to use this common fund for the benefit of all. Thus whereas in the old days, if a Zemindar wanted money he had to borrow it from a Bania at 4 or even 6 pies a month interest per rupee, he can now borrow it from the Society at less than 2 pies. Even the interest he pays is not really lost to him, because the profits of the Societies belong to their members, and a man will probably get back in his share of the profits as much as he has paid in interest. Another activity of the Co-operative Societies is that they buy from Government the improved varieties of seed that we have mentioned above, and sell them to the Zemindars at the lowest possible rates. Many of the Societies have purchased the latest types of implements, ploughs, threshing machines, etc., and lend them out on hire to their members.

Government besides giving every assistance to the establishment of the Co-operative Societies, and selecting carefully trained inspectors to inspect them and lecture to them on subjects of interest to agriculturalists, also gives direct assistance to the farmer. Special loans, called in the Punjab "Taqavi", are given to Zemindars for the purposes of digging wells, and no interest is charged, the sum being recovered in small instalments every year.

Another way in which the Government helps the agricultural population is by great leniency in the matter of the land revenue. Whenever there is a failure of the crops in any locality, the Government makes enquires, and, instead of

demanding all the revenue at once allows it to be paid in instalments. If the failure however, amounts to more than two-thirds no revenue at all is recovered.

But by far the most important measure for the improvement and assistance of agriculture in India, as far as the Government is concerned, is the upkeep and extension of the irrigation system. It is no good developing wonderful strains of rice and wheat, and discovering all the diseases of plants and animals, if the failure of the rains can so affect the land that there are no plants to grow, and nothing for animals to feed upon. In India, with the monsoon rains so erratic that we can never forecast with any accuracy if they will be enough or deficient in any locality, it is above all necessary that, as far as possible, the farmers may be made independent of the vagaries of the weather.

Irrigation in India is not a new idea. We read in our History how in the time of King Chandragupta (300 B. C.) there was a regular system of irrigation in existence, with officers appointed in charge of it, and we read of canals constructed in the reign of Firoze Shah (1350 A. D.). But the great fault of all systems in the old days was that important works were constantly allowed to fall into disrepair, owing to war and political turmoil. Without settled and ordered Government no irrigation scheme can ever be permanently successful.

The British Governors and Governors-General, as soon as the dominions of the Company began to increase to a considerable extent, and when (as a result

of the policy of Lord Wellesley,) the Company became the dominant power in India, began to turn their attention to irrigation. We read of work on the Western and Eastern Jumna Canals soon after the year 1817, and later on the Bari Doab and Ganges canals were dug, whilst the great dam across the Godavari in Madras was also completed. The conquest of the Punjab was followed by the immediate establishment of an Irrigation branch of the Public Works Department, and similar steps were shortly afterwards taken in the United Provinces. Lord Dalhousie, in these as well as in other matters, carried improvements still further, and laid the foundation of the irrigation system as it exists to day.

The methods of irrigation in India are in the main four. The first is by the use of
 (3) *Methods* wells and small storage tanks, constructed as a rule by the cultivators themselves, Government assistance being confined in the main to the occasional provision of power pumps for lifting the water. The second method is that of tanks for storage of rain water, and is mainly used in south India. In Madras alone there are 30,000 of these tanks, usually constructed by building a dam across a narrow valley and thus forming a kind of lake. Sluices are built in the dam which can be opened to any width desired, and as much water let out as is required at one time for the adjacent country. Some of these tanks have been privately constructed, others are the work of Government. Canal irrigation is carried out by Government alone. This is of three kinds. The first method is by raising the level of a river by a dam which can be shut at will; when it is shut the water rises up to the level required and is then diverted into canals from which the fields can be watered. The second class comprises inundation

canals, that is to say water can only be sent down the canals when the river rises by natural means to the required height. The third class, mainly confined to Central India and the Deccan, consists of canals which draw their water from huge storage tanks, and are like the Madras tank system though on a much larger scale. These various works are under the general control of the Inspector-General of Irrigation, who is responsible for the official advice given to the Government of India as to whether any particular plan is to be passed or rejected.

There is no need to waste time discussing the question as to what benefits we gain from irrigation. To the agriculturalist water is life, and means by which the regular supply of water for his fields can be assured or increased is a benefit far greater than any other that can be bestowed upon him, and every acre of irrigated land that is added in India means more assurance against poverty and starvation. What all should consider very carefully is that to ensure irrigation works being preserved and increased, settled and organised Government is necessary, and anything which might tend to upset good order and the stability of Government is the greatest danger to any owner of irrigated land. We should never forget the lessons of history; and anyone who has ever seen the derelict irrigation system of Mesopotamia, which might have been working still but for breakdowns in organised Government, or anyone who has read in the newspaper of the terrible disasters which the Russian Revolution has brought upon the Russian agriculturalist, will realise that an organised Government, though it may not be perfect, must not be attacked with violence, but gradually changed and improved; otherwise disaster will fall on the whole nation, and on the agricultural classes more than any. As we said at

the end of Chapter 14, the vote has placed a great power in the hands of the agriculturalist, and it is upon him that the future in great measure depends. He should never forget that, to him at any rate, the preservation of stable and organised Government is absolutely vital.

In a country such as India, which possesses such great resources in its vast forests, the Forest Service and its work form an important part of the organisation of Government. The Forest Departments were started in 1864, and are under the Provincial Governments, with an Inspector-General of Forests who is under the Government of India. Each province is divided into "circles" under a Conservator of Forests, and the services working under them are divided into three branches in the same manner as the I.C.S. Under their charge are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of acres of forest land. Their functions are to eradicate useless kinds of timber and to develop the growing of such trees as provide the best wood for various purposes; to protect the reserved forests from unlawful pilfering by unauthorised persons; to sell the timber from the forests in order to provide revenue for Government; to assist the development of forest industries, such as bamboo (for the manufacture of paper), and resin; and to undertake research work in all matters affecting the forests. It is interesting to note that energetic steps are being taken to recruit candidates in India for the Indian Forest Service, and it is hoped that many Indians will come forward to take their part in developing what is one of the greatest natural resources of India, and may ultimately, if foreign countries can be brought to understand the value of Indian timber, be a most profitable source of revenue to this country.

CHAPTER XXIII

PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATION

We have already (Chapter VII section I) given consideration to the duties of a citizen in regard to the public health, and we decided that whatever regulations are made or assistance given by the Government, the ultimate responsibility for the health of a District and the keeping in check of disease rests upon the inhabitants themselves. It is however the duty of those in authority to provide the advice, assistance and organization required; we will now consider briefly how this is done.

The medical administration of India, apart from those who practise the Ayurvedic or old Indian medical methods, and those who practise Western medicine privately in the big cities (with neither of whom Government has at present much official concern) lies in the hands of the Medical Services. The Indian Medical Service was, and still is in part, a Military Service, and its members, whatever duties they may be performing, are commissioned officers in the army. The service is recruited in England, and possession of a medical degree recognised by the highest medical authorities in England is a necessity. So many Indians go nowadays to Europe to study medicine that the service consists very largely of Indians. This service fills the highest medical appointments, military and civil. The Indian Medical Department is recruited in India, and corresponds more or less in status to the Provincial Services. Originally,

***The Medical
Services
(I) Organisation***

when the services were first started (the Bengal Medical Service dates from 1764) they were separate in each province ; but there are now combined services for the whole of India, and no provincial services exist. The head of the Medical Services is the Director-General of the I.M.S. who works under the Indian Government, and with each Provincial Government, under a Minister, (for Health is a transferred subject) there is an officer who is called the Surgeon-General in Bombay and Madras and the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals elsewhere, who is generally responsible for all matters concerning health and medicine in the province. The principal responsibility for hospitals and the health of the people rests in each District generally speaking with the Civil Surgeon. As we have

(2) Functions

already noticed, the District Boards have now taken over a great number of the functions of Government in matters regarding health, and a large part of their revenue is devoted to the erection of hospitals and the provision of dispensaries etc., but of course the actual medical staff will always be responsible for the working of these institutions, requiring as it does special medical knowledge. The Civil Surgeon and his assistants are also, besides being in charge of the working of hospitals and dispensaries in the District, responsible as a rule for sanitation. This is always a difficult task, but every effort is made to bring before the people the advantages of keeping their houses and villages free from dirt. Lastly, the Medical Services in a District are responsible for the measures taken to combat special diseases. Campaigns are carried out with a view to exterminating the rats, which are well-known to be the main source of plague. Small-pox is being gradually reduced by the energetic efforts of the

Medical Services to get as many as possible of the population, especially the children, vaccinated. Whenever cholera breaks out officers go to the spot to try and discover the cause which has given rise to the outbreak; the distribution of quinine through the post offices is gradually reducing malaria. But as we go through the list of duties of the Medical Services, we are again struck by the fact of how much of their work really depends on us. We cannot, indeed, cure the sick, nor are we capable of performing an operation; that work the Surgeon alone can do: but his sanitary work and the work of trying to prevent disease by precautions is one in which he depends for his success upon us. Medical and sanitary work is one of the chief functions of an organised Government; every good Government in the world is devoting more and more time and attention to this branch of its activities. But, although it is true that if we were left to ourselves with no Medical Services to help us, we should be helpless through our lack of knowledge, it should all the same never be forgotten that without the hearty co-operation of the people in general the work of the Medical Services loses half of its value. Soldiers in a regiment are constantly being reminded of the benefits of healthy habits and good sanitation; no other community in the world lays such stress on this matter as the Army does: because the Army depends on its health for its efficiency and value; a sickly regiment is incapable of long marches and cannot endure the hardships inseparable from war. It should be the duty of every retired soldier and every soldier on leave to try and spread among his fellow-villagers the principles of health and sanitation which he has learnt during his service in the army.

Education, which absorbs so much of the time and thought of all Governments in these days, was not a subject which troubled the East India Company very much in earlier times. In England the State had not yet begun to take any part in the organization of Education or even its supervision, and this being so it was not likely that the Company would do so. All that it did was to give some encouragement to Indian learning by institutions such as the Calcutta Madrassah for Mussulmans founded by Warren Hastings in 1782, and the establishment in 1791 of the Benares Hindu College. It was not till 1815 that Lord Hastings expressed a desire that some form of Public Instruction should be established, but in the years after that the question came strongly to the fore, and the controversy began as to whether vernacular education should be supplemented by further study of Eastern languages, or by Western knowledge and science taught in English. The latter course, through the influence of the famous English author Lord Macaulay—then Law Member of the Viceroy's Council—was adopted. In 1844 the new system was bound up with the material interests of those classes who were anxious for education by Lord Hardinge's regulation that all candidates admitted into Government Service should have an English education, and that English would in future be the language of public business and of the law-courts. In 1854, the system was further developed ; Departments of Public Instruction were set up ; Universities were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta ; and training colleges were set up for teachers to learn their work. The system as laid down then has been extended from time to time, but the main lines have not been changed.

The schools of India are divided into primary, and secondary. In the primary schools, the children attend usually from the ages of five to ten. The courses are conducted in the vernacular, and are extremely simple. The child is taught nothing beyond how to read and write his own language, to do easy calculations which will enable him to keep simple accounts, and to understand the land records of his village ; and a very elementary course is given in general knowledge of various kinds. Secondary schools are of three kinds. In the Vernacular middle schools a course in continuation of the primary school course is given to those boys who it is not intended shall ever learn English. In the Middle English schools the course is continued on pretty well the same lines, but with the instruction given in English, and a considerable amount of time devoted to that language. The High schools give an education which is a continuation of the Middle English school course, and leads on to the education in the Universities, of which affiliated colleges are now to be found in almost all the principal towns. Government does not provide anything more than a small proportion of the schools in India ; its policy is to maintain a certain number of High schools in a rough proportion of one to each District, in order to be a model to, and set the standard for, other schools. These latter are of varied kinds. Some are organised, in the country by District Boards, and in the towns by Municipalities, others are managed by private persons ; but all alike are given grants of money, in proportion to their size and general efficiency, and all alike are obliged to submit to Government inspection.

The inspection work and general supervision of

(3) *Organization* education makes it necessary to have a large organization. In the Government of India there is the Education department which exercises a general supervision over all education in India. In the provinces, as it is a transferred subject, it is supervised by the Minister of Education; under him are three services, organized in the usual way into Indian, Provincial and Subordinate. At the head of the Services in each province is the Director of Public Instruction, who has under him the Professors at the University Colleges, the Inspectors, and all the teachers in Government schools.

Education being now, as we have said, a transferred subject, that is to say, a subject on which it is intended and desired that the wishes of the voters and their representatives are to decide; it is worth while asking ourselves if the system is satisfactory, and how it could be improved.

In the first place, there can be no doubt that too many people in India have received, and are receiving, no education at all. In 1920, of the total male population of India, only 5 out of every hundred were under instruction, a proportion far less than in Great Britain and in other European countries; while on the other hand, if we look at the figures of secondary school education we see that a greater proportion of the male population was under instruction than in Great Britain. The meaning of this is whereas a small section of the population is receiving a very large measure of education, the great majority are receiving none at all. And this leads us naturally to the second criticism. Practically all of those who are attending secondary

schools, and the great majority of those who attend the primary schools, are townsmen; cases are quite frequent in which rural schools have had to be closed because enough boys did not attend them to make their continuance worth the trouble and expense they involved. Whatever the reason, the townsmen of India are being, to a large extent, educated, whilst the remainder—the vast agricultural population in whose hands, as we have already several times remarked, lie the destinies of India—is almost entirely uneducated. But even when we turn to these townsmen, and see the attitude with which the boys and their parents approach their education, we still see much that is not right. Instead of regarding education as a development of the mental faculties and a general preparation for life, they regard it merely as the mechanical acquirement of knowledge to be used as a key to unlock the doors of Government employment, the Professions, or such clerical employment as requires literary qualifications. As a result of this attitude, and too great attention being paid to the mere passing of examinations, secondary education has displayed a tendency to cater for this desire for purely material profit, yet without giving what is called “vocational” training, that is definite training for a trade or profession. The subjects of a General Education are taught, but its true aim is lost sight of. And, in point of fact, there are never enough Government positions vacant for the number of applicants, nor are there enough openings in professional and clerical careers for the educated class, so that the young men of that class who are unsuccessful cannot help feeling that their education, the true aim of which they have never appreciated, has been a waste.

Thus we see that whereas on the one hand large sections of the public receive an education which they do not appreciate, the vast majority of the people of India are not educated at all. Yet a very large number of the latter have received votes, and ought to be instructed in their duties as citizens. But how can the uneducated class do this if it cannot read or write? Is there not always a possibility that the educated townsman will dominate the uneducated villager, and that the power which has been placed in the hands of the people by the new reforms may fall entirely into the hands of the instructed few? And so we come to see that the people in general must be made to realise that an uneducated nation cannot be a prosperous one, and that it is better to give a little necessary education to everyone than a lot of education to a few. The first reform therefore which is urgently called for at the present moment is the increase of rural education. Village schools must be increased in number till there is eventually a school in every village in India; attendance at these schools must be made more regular; a large supply of trained teachers must be forthcoming, and they must be trained to teach on less mechanical methods, and in such a way that their pupils will love their education and take an interest in it; to ensure this higher salaries must be paid to elementary teachers. It must be fully realised that, instead of giving extensive general education to a few, a little general education, followed by technical education in agriculture for the rural population and engineering etc., for the townsmen, will reduce the number of disappointed applicants for Government Service, and lead men into careers profitable for themselves and useful to India.

Lastly, and perhaps almost as important, is adult education. Many men are led, through poverty or family difficulties, to start their life's work at an age when they have had little or no education. Yet many of them are now voters, and need education to enable them to understand the problems of the day with intelligence. Attempts have been made in this direction—the Servants of India Society is carrying out excellent work of this sort among the mill-hands of Bombay,—but the movement needs to be very much extended if the voters are to be properly educated to perform their functions as they should be performed.

It is peculiarly interesting to note that the one attempt to tackle the problem of Adult Education on a large scale is being made by the Army. In the British Army the system is already working, and it will soon be in full working order throughout the Indian Army. The war has shown that as a result of all the new inventions that have been made, requiring a clear brain to understand them, and the greater calls made on the initiative of Platoon and Section Commanders by modern tactics, the brain of every soldier must be made into a more efficient thinking machine. General education of a simple kind is the method that is to be used to train the mind of the soldier to grasp quickly and remember permanently what the Army requires him to know. Secondly, it is felt that the soldier ought to be sent back into civil life when he retires capable of holding his own among the educated men around him, and able not only to fulfil his duties as a citizen with intelligence, but by his influence to forward good citizenship and agricultural progress in the village community in which he will live. Exclusive of Indian

Officers at Army and Command Headquarters, there will eventually be an Indian Officer, a Havildar Major and a Havildar with each battalion or equivalent formation, who will be in general charge, under the Commanding Officer, of education in the Unit. This army educational personnel is being trained at the Indian Army School of Education at Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency under the supervision of a senior officer of the Indian Army. Efforts are being made at this school to carry into practice the suggestions we have noted above as essential for the future success of Civil Education. Instructors are being taught that army education must be simple, practical and interesting, and the aim in view is not the production of a few men in each regiment with vast knowledge, but the stimulation of intelligence throughout the unit. It is hoped that by this means the Indian Soldier may become not only more efficient in the performance of his military duties, but a better agriculturalist and a better citizen of his country when he leaves the Service.

CHAPTER XXIV

LAW AND POLICE

In Chapter 2 Diagram 3, we showed the “Judicial Chain” and explained, in section 3 of the same Chapter, the manner in which that chain of responsibility operates. Further we considered in Chapters 11 and 16 how new laws are made, by the Provincial and Central Legislatures respectively. We will now consider how the present law system of India came into being, and what it is to-day.

When the British first came to India, they found that men’s idea of Law was personal or religious and not local ; that is to say that a man observed and was bound by such and such laws not because he lived in a certain city or District, but because he was a Hindu or a Mussalman. And so the early merchants followed the custom of the country and brought their own law with them, deciding cases among themselves according to English Law ; later on, when British dominion began to assume large dimensions, the principle was laid down (in 1780) that as against a Hindu, Hindu law and usage were to be observed, as against a Mussalman, the laws and customs of Islam. This principle has been followed more or less ever since, but its modifications are twofold. In the first place, a kind of customary law has sprung up, largely the result of the decisions given by judges, especially in cases between members of different communities ; and in the second place the Legislative Bodies, whatever they have been at various times, have continually been at work making new laws, especially regarding crime, which have in the end profoundly modified the laws under

which we live in India. This process of making laws was at first carried out by the Executive Government of each presidency. In 1833 this power was taken away, and the privilege of making laws for India was given to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India. This body was, as we have already seen, increased by 12 members in 1853 for law making purposes, and in 1861 a further increase was made, while Legislative Councils were set up in the Provinces. The later history of both the Provincial and Central Legislative bodies we have already considered.

We see, therefore, that the law under which we live in India consists of the old customary and religious law, as modified by the decisions of judges in special cases, and definite laws passed by the Central and Provincial Legislatures. It is obvious that, for general convenience, it ought to be possible to collect these various laws and customs into volumes so that they can be readily referred to by anyone. As regards that part of the law which has reference to the work of the Law-Courts, this is done by the compiling of books called Codes which bring together all laws, from whatever source they are derived, so long as they concern the same branch of the law. For instance, all that concerns Criminal Law, *i. e.* crimes against the King-Emperor, which are punishable by death, imprisonment, or fine, is to be found in the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure; on the other hand, all that concerns Civil Law, *i. e.* disputes between individual men, or bodies of men, regarding their private affairs, is to be found in the Code of Civil Procedure, and in various Acts. The Law in general, in so far as it has been made or modified by Governments or Legislative Councils since

British times, is to be found in the Provincial Codes, and in the official record of acts passed by the Central Legislature, all of which are obtainable by those who desire them.

Lastly it is worth knowing that the Indian Army has a law of its own. Its provisions are embodied in a book entitled "*The Manual of Indian Military Law.*" This provides the authority for the regulations under which a soldier lives. It is this law which sanctions the powers of the Commanding Officer in the Orderly Room, the Summary and Summary General Court-Martial, and all other disciplinary powers of officers and non-commissioned officers. But all soldiers should notice carefully that though special laws have been made for them as soldiers, they are still liable to obey the ordinary law of India. Military law supplements but does not supersede the ordinary law.

We have made several references already to the police, notably when we were discussing the question of internal protection, and in reference to the position and duties of Chowkidars. In the days of the East India Company there does not seem to have been much effort made to organise a proper police service. Police were roughly organised under the control of the District Magistrate, who appears to have had a sort of general supervision over the work of the village Chowkidars. The system, such as it was, far from satisfactory, and frequent complaints were made of its inefficiency. The beginnings of real reform date from the successful attempts 90 years ago made by Sir William Sleeman (ably backed up by the Viceroy, Lord

William Bentinck) to suppress the crime of Thagi, or semi-religious murder and robbery. It was not however till after the Mutiny that the Police of India was constituted in its present form by the Act of 1861.

The present organization of the Police Service is very much on the lines of the

(2) **Organization** other Government Services in India.

It is a Provincial Reserved Subject under the control of the Home Member of Council. The service is organised into 3 parts, Imperial, Provincial, and Subordinate, the former of which is very largely recruited from England, though many more Indians are now receiving appointments in it than used to be the case; the other two services are entirely recruited in India. At the head of the service in each province is the Inspector-General. Below him are the Deputy Inspectors-General, who are in control of large areas. At the head of the Police of each District is the District Superintendent of Police, with Assistant and Deputy Superintendents under him, who command the Police force in his District. The Chowkidars we considered when we dealt with village organization. We need only note here that they are in many ways subject to the District Magistrate, and are made responsible for carrying out the reporting of all crime; if they fail to do so the Magistrate can punish or remove them. We may also notice that branch of Police who do the skilled work in regard to the detection of crime; they are known as the Criminal Investigation (formerly it is interesting to note the "Thagi and Dacoity") Department, and their duties are to collect information regarding criminal activities of every kind.

The duties of the police have been sufficiently

(3) *Duties* mentioned in previous chapters; they may be summarized as the maintenance of the service of protection. Just as on active service our outposts protect us from the enemy, and their actions and movements are governed by instructions issued to them by the Commander of the force they are protecting, so the police are so to speak the outposts of civil life, which enable us to carry out our daily life in reasonable security as regards our lives, limbs and property. And in the same way as the outposts act according to definite instructions, so we may say that the instructions on which our civilian outposts—the police—act, consist of the Law of India. And so we see the importance of these services, law and police, which life under an organised Government gives us. Our duty in regard to them is simple; to realise that the Law has been made for our benefit, and to obey it. As we have said above, the remedy for a bad law is not to disobey it, but to try in the proper way to get it altered. If one law is disobeyed, others too will be neglected, and the Law will fall into disrepute, which cannot but be a bad influence and liable to lead to disorder among all classes of the people. As regards the police, we must realise the difficulties of their work, and must give them every assistance in our power. We have been trying in the last few chapters to realize the benefits that are obtained from living under an organised Government. It must be realized that the police are the guardians of Government, and that if their authority is weakened, Government is bound to become weaker also, and its organization, and our comfort and prosperity, will all be in considerable danger.

CHAPTER XXV

MONEY AND BANKS

If there is any article which we desire, there are two ways of obtaining it; we can either make it ourselves, or if we are unable to do so, we can procure it from another man who is able to make it for us. But if we adopt the latter course, we shall seldom find a man who will do the work for nothing : he requires us to give him something in exchange for the value both of the material which he has used and of the labour which he has expended. In early times, and in countries which hold to their old customs, this is done by means of direct exchange, or "barter". If I wish for a plough to till my fields I must find something the plough-maker wants, and give it him, in exchange for which he will make me a plough. The disadvantages of this method are twofold. In the first place, it is extremely difficult to find two people, each of whom wants the goods possessed by the other. I may want to buy a plough, but the only articles I may possess are such as the plough-maker does not want, while the man who is anxious for what I have got does not make ploughs. In the second place, it is very difficult to get a fixed rate for bargaining. To-day, 1 ox may be worth 3 sheep, and 3 sheep may be worth 4 goats, but we cannot therefore assume that to-morrow 1 ox will be worth 4 goats. And so, as civilization advances, the desire for a Measure of Exchange grows bigger. The next stage usually is that men take one article of common use, and measure the value of all other articles by comparison with it. Various articles have been selected in various countries. Cattle were

Money

(I) *History*

very commonly selected, and even human beings, in countries where slavery was prevalent. Metal ornaments are common also, as standards. But eventually as Government becomes better organized, we find that the standard of exchange is laid down by Government, and either gold or silver, in the form of coins, is used.

The reasons which have led to the general adoption all over the civilized world of gold or silver coins for this purpose are roughly three. In the first place, these metals are valuable, and their value is not in ordinary times liable to change very much. As a result of their comparative rarity, a small piece of one of these metals is worth a good deal, and in consequence these coins have the advantage of being portable, that is, easy to carry about. In the third place, they are very durable. We could not employ oxen as a really good standard of exchange, because an ox may die suddenly, and then his value is gone. A gold coin, on the other hand, will last many years.

Money takes various forms, even that which we call money in common speech—the

(2) *Forms* coins we use daily. Every Government makes its own money; the money used in England or any other country is called by a different name or names from our Indian money, and our money is of no value in any other country. Money also is either worth its own value, in which case it is what is called “standard” money, or it is given a value by Government which everybody accepts, in which case it is called a “token”. For instance, suppose any of us were to melt down 100 silver rupees, and take the resulting silver to a silversmith, he would get 100 rupees or something near it for his silver; but if he did the same with 1600

nickel annas he would not get anything like 100 rupees for them. The rupee is worth the value stated on it, but the anna is not. Government issues the anna as a "token", *i. e.*, it will itself give 1 rupee for 16 annas, and expects citizens to do the same for convenience sake. The anna is really a kind of promise, an idea which is carried still further when we consider "paper money". When we accept a five-rupee note as part of our pay, we do so because we read on it that the Government of India promises "to pay the bearer on demand" the sum of 5 rupees. We believe the Government to be organized and stable, and so we regard a Government promise to pay us money as of equal value to the money itself. Money orders, and everything in the nature of drafts on treasuries are the same; we accept them because we believe the Government is able, as we say, to "honour" them. An unstable Government's paper money is useless. The paper money of the Bolshevik Russian Government has no value, because people have no trust or confidence in that Government, whilst notes of the British Government are accepted even outside England, because the British Government inspires a confidence not possessed by the Bolsheviks.

The history of money and coinage in India is quite interesting. The first trace of our present rupees is to be found in the (3) *History of Indian Money* "Tanka" of Shams-ud-din Altamash which was first made in the year 1233 A. D., and was intended to be one-eighth of the gold "dinar". This system continued roughly up to the reign of Akbar, who decreed that the "rupee", as it was now called, should be worth 40 copper "dams" and that the gold coin should be worth about 10 rupees. The system as Akbar established it lasted on pretty well in the same

form up to the collapse of the Mogul power after the death of Aurangzeb. When the East India Company began to coin money, they adopted the values and coins they found locally, and these settled down roughly into four forms—the Murshidabad, Surat, Lucknow and Arcot (or Madras) rupees, all of different values. Eventually, the inconveniences of such a system became obvious to everyone, and in 1835, the Madras rupee was adopted as the standard coin for all India, which it still is.

In India, the original system of paper money was what it is to some extent in England to-day; the Presidency Banks (now amalgamated into the Imperial Bank of India) were allowed to make and issue it, but it was never much used outside Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. In 1861 the business of issuing notes was transferred to a Government department, which issues them from offices at Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Cawnpore, Bombay, Karachi and Rangoon. Being issued by the Government of India, and backed by the credit of Government for all purposes, it is accepted everywhere.

When we go into the Orderly Room of our regiment,
 (4) *Banks* we may sometimes find an officer engaged in paying the bills of the regiment. If we could go close to his table, we could see that he was not arranging piles of money or rolls of notes to send to the shopkeepers, contractors etc., but was merely signing certain printed forms. If we asked the clerk the meaning of this proceeding, he would tell us that the officer was sending the shopkeepers cheques drawn on the Regimental Banking Account. We will now proceed to describe what this means.

Without going into great detail, it is sufficient to notice that a Bank is a man or syndicate of men, who

will house your money and look after it for you on condition of having the use of as much money as you entrust to their care. It is extremely difficult to keep money in safety, and so it is obviously more practical for anyone who has money, to put it in a place where it will be perfectly safe as far as he is concerned, so long, that is, as the Bank is one which is known to be trustworthy. Now supposing a man has money lodged in a bank, how will he be able to draw money out of that bank to use himself, or to pay what he owes to other men? The method is that he gets from the Bank a book of printed forms called "cheques", fills in the name of the man to whom the money is to be paid, the amount to be paid, and then his own signature (of which the Bank always keeps a specimen). The result is that a man can pay all the money he owes, without having any money in his possession; the officer, we now see, can pay off all that the regiment owes, without having to keep much of the regimental funds in the office, and can limit the cash in the safe to the very smallest amount possible. So we see that the second advantage of Banks is that they enable us to conduct money transactions without the trouble and risk of loss involved in handling large numbers of coins. Cheques, we see, are really like Currency Notes or Money Orders, with this difference, that they are not guaranteed by Government. A cheque, to be of value, depends on two factors, the trustworthiness of the man who signs the cheque, and the trustworthiness of the Bank. It is obvious that if a man has only Rs. 1000 in the Bank, and gives you a cheque for Rs. 5000, it is worthless. You walk to the Bank, and present the cheque for payment, and the Bank will naturally enough refuse to pay; similarly, if the Bank refuses to pay, because it has itself no money for the

purpose, the cheque will become useless. And so we come to see that when cheques circulate freely in a country, it is a sign that the people are, as far as money matters are concerned, filled with the principles of good citizenship. They trust their comrades and the Banks, because they know that neither will defraud them. And, from the point of view of Citizenship, it is a good thing that Banks should exist. Money after all should not be idle; it is wanted for all sorts of good purposes, to be lent to people who cannot start useful businesses through lack of funds. If we possess money and bury it under the floors of our house, that money is idle; if on the other hand we put it into the Bank, besides the comfort we shall have through not worrying about thieves, we shall know that it will be lent out probably to some useful purpose. Further than this, if we deposit our money in a Bank, the Bank will give us a small interest for the use of our money, and so, so far from losing money (as we might do we if buried it, and it was stolen) we actually stand to gain money by depositing it in a Bank. We noticed, in chapter 22 the work of the Co-operative societies in helping the agriculturalist to keep out of debt, by lending him money on low rates of interest. The same organizations also carry out banking work, that is, if a man has succeeded in saving some money, he can bank it to the best advantage with the Society. Not only will he get interest on his money which he would never get if he hoarded it in his house, but he will also, if he is a good citizen, feel that his money is doing good work, for, as we have seen above, the Society will use it to give loans to those in difficulties, and to buy the modern implements of which all are in need.

Though not strictly connected with the subject of

(5) *Investment*

Banks, it is well to notice that when people wish to carry out some big commercial enterprise, they form themselves into what is known as a Company, and ask the public to subscribe money to them. This process of lending money directly to a Company is called Investing, and the interest the Company pays us is called a Dividend. We should notice carefully that these companies (except in the case of what are known as "preference" shares) do not guarantee us any fixed rate of interest; if the Company is prosperous and successful we get high interest; if it is a failure we may get little or none. And so we must be most careful not to lend money to any such groups of people unless we have proof of the honesty and capability of the people to whom we lend it. We must not believe, without testing them, statements in the newspaper offering high interest to those who will lend money to a certain Company: many men who are trying to get money hold out lying hopes which are never fulfilled, and entice other men to lend them money. But there is one form of Investment which is both safe and patriotic. Governments, Central and Provincial, are often in need of large sums of money to carry out important Public Works. Instead of imposing a big tax, they ask the people to lend them money, and the interest is paid out of the taxes. Now this form of investment is safe, for the whole credit of the Government is behind it, and the interest is always the same and is always paid. And further, a man who invests in such Government loans is showing good citizenship, because he is contributing in a small degree to the carrying out of that public work for the purpose of which money is required by Government. The War Loans which were issued during the war were good

instances of this kind of lending. Men were not asked to give money to the Government, they were asked to lend it; and so they knew, that while on the one hand they were giving distinct help to the Government by providing it with the money without which no war can be carried on, yet on the other hand neither they nor their families would be in the least degree injured. The same principles apply equally in peace. By investing money with the Government we can make it work for us and for our country alike.

CHAPTER XXVI

INDIA'S INCOME AND EXPENDITURE; LAND REVENUE

If a man constantly spends more than he earns, he will soon be found borrowing from the money-lender; and if he continues to spend more than he is earning, he will end sooner or later in disaster. If we cannot keep our expenditure somewhere near the same as our income, we all know that trouble and misery is the result, and that we are not the only sufferers; our sons who have to pay off the debts we have incurred will suffer as much as if not more than we do from the results of our extravagance.

It is just the same with a country. All countries with properly organised Governments have money coming into them from various sources, and this money is spent in various ways; it is the duty of Government to keep expenditure level with income, or, if it is found that necessary extra expenditure must be incurred, to make arrangements for the procuring of more income.

The financial system of the Company does not seem to have been marked by very
Indian Finance great wisdom or skill. Admittedly,
(i) *History* it was a difficult time. The period
(a) *To 1869* from the time when the Company began to exercise real power in India up to the Mutiny was one of almost continuous war, and in many years the amount expended considerably exceeded what came in. The balance was made up by borrowing, with the result that Government had more and more debts, and more and more interest to pay on them. The Mutiny only made matters worse ;

the mere military operations involved in its suppression raised the expenditure to great heights, and in 1857 to 1859 Government spent more than it had got to the extent of 30 crores of rupees. The system, too, was bad. The money affairs of all India were dealt with by the whole of the Executive Council together, with the result that business was generally in arrears, whilst the provinces had no financial independence at all. Reforms were carried out under the supervision of Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence. The system of accounts was reorganized, and a Finance Member of

(b) 1869 Council appointed to look after it.

During the term of office of Lord Mayo, and largely inspired by him, a further reform was made. The Provinces, having, as we have said, no control over the revenues, and being obliged to ask the Central Government for grants to carry out public works, were naturally not inclined to economy. They knew that a great deal of work wanted doing, and were anxious to get it done. And so the various provinces were all trying to get as much money as they could from the Central Government, and as they got no advantage if all the money was not spent, but were obliged to hand any balance back to the Central Government, they naturally spent every anna they got. The result was that the Provincial Government was carried out without the least regard to economy. Lord Mayo's chief reform, therefore, was to make a fixed grant to each local Government for the management of its own affairs, requiring them to keep their expenditure down within the limits of the money given them. This system worked fairly well, and led at once to a great increase in the practice of economy. In 1877

(c) 1877 however, in the viceroyalty of Lord

Lytton, a different system was devised, which regulated the relations of the Government of India and the Provinces in money matters until the reforms of 1919. The system provided that instead of a grant in money being made by the Government of India to each Province, the income of India should be divided into separate classes, or "heads" as they were called. The first "head" consisted of such sources of income the proceeds of which were entirely to go to the Central Government: Salt, Opium, and Customs were the main items included in this class. The second class consisted of those sources of income whose proceeds were to go entirely to the Provincial Government; the principal of these were those revenues resulting from all forms of registration. The last consisted of those items the proceeds of which were divided between the Central and Provincial Governments in fixed proportions, such as Land Revenue, Stamps, and Excise. Provincial Governments were considered as little more than the local agents of the Government of India, they were unable to borrow money for their own purposes, and the budget, or estimate of proposed expenditure and expected income, had to be sanctioned by the Government of India before it could be carried into effect.

We have already mentioned that one of the features of the reforms of 1919 was, that in addition to establishing Ministers and transferred subjects in the provinces, they also set free the Provincial Governments from the control of the Government of India in regard to reserved as well as transferred subjects. As part of this policy, much greater freedom is now given to Governors-in Council to direct the financial policy of their provinces, and Provincial Governments are now allowed to have their

own definite incomes. Whilst the Government of India now takes over the entire proceeds of the Income Tax, or tax of so many pies in the rupee levied on all income derived from every source except land; on the other hand the Provincial Governments now get all the money derived from the Land Revenue, from irrigation works, and from excise and stamps. As this exchange has involved the Central Government in considerable loss, the Provincial Governments now contribute money in proportion to their means to help the Government of India to carry on.

The system having thus entirely changed, it is of very little practical use to give a
 (2) *Balance Sheet of India* complete "balance sheet" or statement of income and expenditure for any of the years under the old system of working. It will be enough to state a few facts (taken from the official estimates for 1920-1921) just to show the main sources from which money is obtained and the principal ways in which it is spent. Of a total of roughly 193 crores of income, Land Revenue provides 35 crores, excise and customs 45; opium and salt taxes and stamps account for 22 crores and income tax for 16. Railway receipts are a large item, amounting to 31 crores, posts and telegraphs account for 9, and military receipts for 1, and under the heading of Miscellaneous may be grouped the remainder. Soldiers should be interested to note that a large proportion of this money is spent on them; for, out of a total expenditure of 197 crores, 61 go to pay the expenses of the military services. The salaries and expenses of the Civil Services and Departments account for the sum of 42 crores, railways for 22, Public Works for 13. Posts and Telegraphs account for 9 crores and Irrigation for 6; miscellaneous charges connected with the

Civil Services (mainly Pensions) amount to 12 crores, and 12 more are devoted to the payment of interest on the money Government has borrowed. One crore is always set aside every year to build up a reserve fund in case of serious famine; the remaining 19 crores were, under the old system, divided up between the various provinces to pay for their expenses.

Before we conclude this chapter it is necessary to

Land Revenue

(1) Early History

discuss the subject of Land Revenue, which is to the agriculturalists of India the one part of the Government's "balance sheet" which comes into close connection with their daily lives, and is therefore of great interest to soldiers, who are nearly all agriculturalists too. Land Revenue is based on a theory, coming down from very ancient times of India, that all land belongs to the King; that just as, if we occupy a house that does not belong to us, we have to pay rent, so if the King allows us to occupy his land, he has a right to a share in the proceeds. In early days, this share was taken in produce. So much of every farmer's grain, according to the extent of the harvest, seems to have been actually removed by officials and taken away for the use of the King and his Court.

When the Moguls settled down as rulers of Northern India, and when with
(2) **Todar Mal** the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) a real "organized Government" began to function, it became obvious that some more modern method of taxing the land would have to be found. The system was devised by Akbar's Hindu Minister, Todar Mal, and it differs very little in its main features from

that in force to-day. These features were, in the first place, that the payment of actual produce ceased, and the equivalent in money was paid instead; the second feature was that these rates did not vary, as had been the case with the old produce payments, from year to year, but were fixed, or "settled" as we say nowadays, for several years at a time on the basis of a survey made of the land. Akbar had very large ideas on the amount of revenue that the King had the right to exact from the unfortunate farmers; one-third seems to have been quite a common assessment! The system above described lasted on till the collapse of the Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, after which it decayed rapidly. The Provinces refused to be bound by the Emperor's regulations, and the Governors, in order to raise money without trouble, instead of collecting the revenue themselves, sold the right of collecting it to the highest bidder, until the wretched cultivators found the revenue system used not as a means of getting reasonable taxation from them, but as an excuse for depriving them of every possible anna.

The re-settlement of the Land Revenue, which also, it must be remembered, always involved the settlement of many questions of disputed ownership, was not carried out by the British on any fixed system. As the Company gained permanent control of any area, and the Revenue question came to the fore, a settlement was made in accordance with what seemed the needs of the situation. The differences between the various settlements (on which depend the differences in Revenue customs to-day) may be considered from two points of view. In the first place these settlements may be

(3) *The British Settlements*

marked off one from another according as they are permanent or temporary. In Bengal the settlement, for

(a) *Permanent
and Tryempora*

ever associated with the name of Lord Cornwallis, was made permanent in 1793. The Zemindars, who up to that time had been considered as, and probably were, little more than revenue-collectors, were recognized as the permanent owners of the land, on condition of paying a fixed amount of the money they collected to the State. This system is now in force in nearly all Bengal, about one tenth of the provinces of the U. P. and Assam, and about one-quarter of Madras. The second class of settlement prevails, in various forms, over the remainder of British India. Under the heading of "temporary" settlements come all those where the assessment of the land for revenue purpose is liable to be revised. The commonest form is that which prevails for the most part in Bombay, Madras and the Agra portion of the United Provinces, and in a good deal of the Central Provinces, where assessments are revised every thirty years. In the Punjab, the settlements are revised in most cases every twenty years. In more backward parts of the country, such as Burma and Assam, more frequent assessments are made, so that any new land brought under cultivation may be made to pay its share and so lower the assessment of the remainder.

The second point of view from which land revenue settlements may be regarded is

(b) *Zemindari
and Ryotwari*

when we consider if they are Zemindari or Ryotwari. It is impossible to go into great detail on this subject. The point to notice is the essential difference between the two systems. A settlement is said to be "Zemindari", when there is an individual, or group of people, such

as the Taluqdars of Oudh, owning land, and considered by Government to have an absolute right to that land as independent property. Where this is the case Government settles with that man or group of men. If, on the other hand, the land is split up into a number of small holdings, the cultivators of which own no superior, and pay rent to no one, then the Government considers itself to be, so to speak, these men's Zemindar, and it collects the revenue from them on a settlement made with each cultivator individually. Such settlements are known as "Ryotwari" because Government settles direct with the ryots. It should be noticed that permanent settlements have been made in about one-seventh of the land of India—the remainder being under temporary settlements; while about half India is under Zemindari settlements, and half under Ryotwari.

We should here notice the organization which is used by Government to deal with
 (4) *Organization* this very important subject. There is in the Government of India a Department concerned with this subject, but as Revenue is now a Provincial (though still a Reserved) subject, the administration of it will be found to be mainly in the hand of the local Governments. In the large provinces such as Bombay we find a separate Executive Councillor for Revenue; in others this work will be in charge of the Finance Member. Under him there is a Board of Revenue, with members varying in number, (in Bombay this work is done by the Divisional Commissioners) under whom come the Collectors or Deputy Commissioners and the usual District administration. We may also notice the importance of the * Patwari, or accountant of a group

* Punjab. This officer, like so many others, has different names in different parts of India.

of villages, in this connection. His importance consists in the fact that he keeps all the maps and accounts on which the collection of revenue is based, and is responsible for the rendering of returns concerning the crops. Lastly, it should be noticed that when the time for the re-settlement of a District comes round (in the case of those provinces not permanently settled,) this work is put in charge of special officers, who study the changes which have taken place since the last settlement, and assess the land accordingly ; and that, as we noticed in chapter 22, if any special circumstances occur in a district, such as disease or famine, the revenue may be entirely remitted, the assessment reduced, or the payment deferred.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

When the ordinary dweller in India thinks of the British, he generally has in his mind the men of the British race whom he has himself met or seen. The soldier thinks of the British Officers of his regiment and of the officers and men of the British regiments who have lived in the same cantonment with him. He also knows that there are certain Civil Officials who are, in nearly every case, of the same race as his own "B. O.'s". He has heard, vaguely perhaps, that they come from a distant island in the West which he hears spoken of as Wilayat. Beyond this, the ordinary recruit will probably know little else. It was therefore probably with some surprise that those of you who went on active service to France or Egypt during the war saw, and fought with, men, who though they spoke the English tongue, and owed allegiance to the same King-Emperor, were yet obviously not quite the same as the Englishmen you knew so well in the regiment. Some of you met also other men, who, though still acknowledging our Emperor, and fighting under the orders of our generals, did not speak English, or any of our own Indian tongues. Those of you who enquired more deeply into the matter then discovered that all who acknowledge the King-Emperor as their King form part of the biggest "group" of all, and that we have fellow-citizens all over the world. They are governed in many different ways, but are all united by a common bond, and all alike fought side by side in the Great War. This community is what is known as the British Empire.

It is interesting to Indians to know that India was very largely the cause of the foundation of the British Empire. In the old days, the products of India, and especially the spices, of which men in Europe were very fond, were carried from India to Western Asia and Egypt, and so on to the various countries of Europe. After the Mussalmans conquered these countries, the European merchants, who were Christians, felt that trade was slipping out of their hands, for not only were heavy taxes often levied on goods passing these countries, but religious feeling, too, ran high in those days, and wars often took place. And so the European countries began to try to find new routes to India. Some tried to get round Africa—it was by this route that Vasco da Gama the great Portuguese traveller came 400 years ago to Goa, where his race still rules—and thus later on South Africa was colonised by the white men. Others tried to find a way to India by the West, and so discovered and colonised the great continent of America. When these and other parts of the world had been discovered, the European nations had many hard fights to settle the question as to which should rule over them. You will read in your History how the English and French fought in India 150 years ago and similar struggles went on all over the New Worlds which they had discovered. The story is too long to tell in detail; the British, you should remember, partly through their love of adventure, partly through the desire of their great merchants to find more places in which to trade, and partly through their wars with the French and other nations who were their rivals, have eventually spread all over the world, and their language and their customs have followed them. As time has

***The British
Empire***

(I) History

gone on, more and more men have gone out and settled in these countries, especially in those where the climate is good. Eventually, some of these new countries have become so advanced that they have been given the power to govern themselves; others are getting into a condition in which they soon will be capable of so doing; others again, where the population is backward, and there are still few Englishmen, are governed under the more direct and strict guidance of the British Government. We will now consider the Governments of the Empire under these three headings.

Every man in the Empire, as we have said, acknowledges the King-Emperor as his King. This gives him Rights and Duties. His main privilege is, that if he is attacked, the forces of the King, and especially the Navy, will come to his assistance. His main duty is, that, if any other country under the King-Emperor is attacked, he should go to its assistance. We all remember how, when Great Britain had to go to war in 1914 against Germany, all the Empire came to her aid, and gave invaluable assistance in every theatre of war.

Apart from this allegiance to the King-Emperor and all that it implies, large parts of the Empire are given the right of complete management of their own affairs. The island of Great Britain is under the direct rule of the King and his Ministers and Parliament; the island of Ireland (close to England on the West) has just been given the management of all its internal affairs; the great Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and British South Africa, the island of Newfoundland, Malta and the Isle of Man (between England and Ireland) are also self-governing. The Governor-General or Governor is sent out from England but other-

wise the King and his English Ministers do not exercise any control over their affairs. Their government is carried on by the Governor-General-in-Parliament, just as that of Great Britain by the King-in-Parliament ; they levy their own taxes, make their own laws, coin their own money, and organize their own military forces. Their relations to the British Government are kept up by means of representatives which each of them sends to London (called High Commissioners) who communicate with a special Minister known as the Colonial Secretary.

We come next to those parts of the Empire still under the direct control of the King-in-Parliament. The arrangement regarding India we have already discussed. (see Chapter 17). Indian affairs, we have noticed, are under the Secretary of State for India and his Council ; and we have also noticed how, by the introduction of Ministers and Transferred Subjects the way is being paved for attainment by India of the same rank as the self-governing colonies. The remainder of the Empire is under the direction of the Colonial Secretary. The rulers under him are of two kinds. In the first place there are a certain number of Protected States, who occupy somewhat the same position in regard to the Colonial Secretary, as the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India do in regard to the Governor-General and Governors of Provinces acting on his behalf. Among these we may notice the Malay States, Zanzibar and many others. In the second place there are those territories which are known as Crown Colonies. The way to understand the manner in which their administration is carried on is to look back to the way in which the various provinces of India have been governed at various times in the past, or are governed now, and make comparisons accordingly. Some, like

the Punjab in the early days of British rule, are governed by a Governor alone, without a council of any kind, executive or legislative. Gibraltar and St. Helena are examples of this kind of Colony. Others again, like Bombay and Madras after 1861, have a Governor, Executive Council and nominated Legislative Council. Sierra Leone in West Africa, and British Honduras on the north coast of South America, are governed in this manner. Lastly, there are some colonies whose government resembles very closely the form of government under which Bombay and Madras were administered between 1909 and 1919—consisting of a Governor, Executive Council, and a partly elected Legislative Council, with however no transferred subjects, and no real control over the actions of the Government. Jamaica and Ceylon are perhaps the best known of the Colonies which are administered in this way.

Before we come to the end of our discussion of the Empire, there is one question which
(3) *Unifying Forces* we should consider, and that is what are the forces which bind the Empire together, in spite of the fact that every part of it appears to be governed in a different manner from the rest. One unifying factor we have already observed. The very fact that every State in the Empire owes allegiance to the King-Emperor makes all men in it feel that, however different may be the institutions under which they live, yet they are all members of the same big community. This was, as we have noticed, strikingly revealed during the war. It would have been extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to have forced the self-governing Colonies to take part in the war against their will, but in point of fact, they all at once joined in without any hesitation through their sense of loyalty and of common interest.

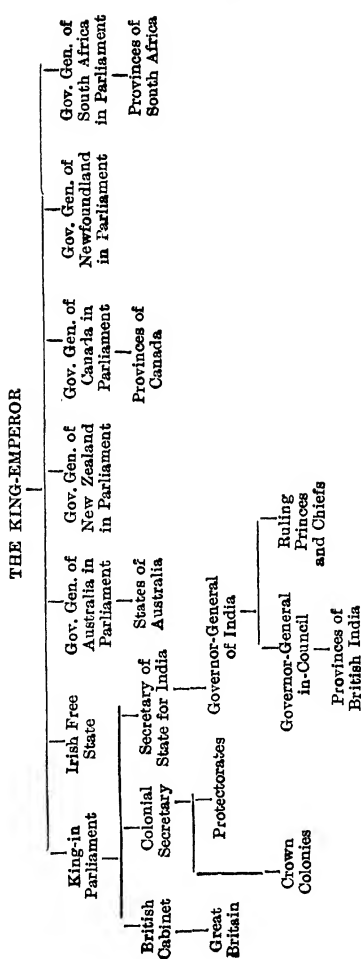
The material bonds of union are not many; but they are of great importance. In the first place there is the bond of law. Systems of law vary to some extent in various parts of the Empire, but the general idea of Justice as we know it is the same throughout, and there is a final court of appeal, known as the Privy Council, which hears and decides appeals from all over the Empire. The second bond of union is the English language. The United States of America is the only country in which the English language is spoken which is not part of the Empire. The result of this is that any Indian, for instance, who has learnt a sufficient amount of English at school, can travel freely and comfortably throughout the Empire, without having to learn a multitude of other languages.

And so, starting from the family and the village, we have worked our way through to the biggest Group of all. We have seen how our village, our district, our province, and finally India and the Empire are governed: we have considered what advantages we obtain from the system of government under which we live, and what duties we owe in return for these advantages. We have also learned what changes and reforms are being made in that system of government, and how the success of these reforms and the obtaining of further reforms in the future depends very largely on ourselves.

The last point we must clearly realize is that what we have learned should be used for the benefit of others. We pointed out in our chapter on Education how little education has penetrated into Indian village life; but yet what large powers of voting are being placed in the hands of the same villagers. We have been able, through the organization of Army Education, to learn

about these most important matters; it is our duty to pass on that knowledge to those to whom Education has not yet reached. Citizenship consists of three things. First we must grasp the system of organized Government under which we live; this involves finding out, understanding and remembering. In the second place, we must realize the privileges we have obtained and the duties we owe to the communities to which we belong; and finally we must carry out those duties ourselves, and assist others to do so. If we can do all this, we can then say that we have made ourselves worthy citizens of India.

Diagram 10.
THE BRITISH EMPIRE



Following are omitted through lack of space

- (1) Governor in Parliament of Malta
- (2) " of the Isle of Man
- (3) Governors etc. of the Channel Islands

Under the King-Emperor but not under King-in-Parliament nor the British Cabinet

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